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ARCHÆOLOGY
AND
ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY

996

GUJARAT VERNACULAR SOCIETY
AHMEDABAD

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Gujarat Vernacular Society Research Series No. 21

RESEARCH AND POST-GRADUATE DEPARTMENT

ARCHÆOLOGY
AND
ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY
(FOUR LECTURES)

by

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GUJARAT VERNACULAR SOCIETY,
AHMEDABAD

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प्राप्तिस्थानम्—चौखम्बा संस्कृत पुस्तकालय, बनारस-१

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INTRODUCTION

WHILE organizing the Research and Post-graduate Department of the Gujarat Vernacular Society, the late Dr. A B. Dhruva, then President of the Society and Honorary Director of the Department, arranged for inviting eminent University professors and research scholars to deliver courses of lectures on their special subjects. It was also provided, wherever feasible, to publish these lectures.

We have great pleasure in publishing, under the scheme, these lectures of Dr. Hīrānanda S'āstrī, which were delivered by him at the Premabhai Hall before our Research and Post-graduate Department, on the 17th November, the 1st and the 8th December, 1940, and 5th January, 1941, under the Chairmanship of the Hon'ble Mr. G. V. Mavlankar, the President of the Society.

We could not obtain all the illustrations exhibited by Dr. Sastri, while delivering these lectures. It is hoped, however, that the publication of this work with as many illustrations as we could get, would be of use to the students of Indian History and Archæology as well as others interested in the study of Indian Culture.

We are thankful to Dr. Hīrānanda S'āstrī for delivering these lectures in our Institute and giving us the benefit of his practical experience as an epigraphist and archæologist.

Bhadra,
AHMEDABAD
11th Jan., 1944

Rasiklal C. Parikh
Director,
Research & Postgraduate Department,
Gujarat Vernacular Soeiety

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(Head-line title on odd pages from 47 to 71 may be read NALANDA instead of MONUMENTS OF GUJ. & KATH.)

Page	Line	For	Read
5	30	Vikramānkadevaeharita	*Vikramāṅkadevacharita*
8	25	Rumindie	Rumindei
13	14	person	persons
„	21	and asaam	and the Āsām
„	26	shorly	shortly
15	10	were highy	were a highly
17	5	alluvian	alluvial
18	20	remains	the remains
19	21	are a	is a
19	2	especially turben	especially the turban
22	21	saka	S'aka
„	23	sudras'ane	Sudars'ana
„	30	megastherien	Megasthenes
24	2	*shābbāsh*	*shābāsh*
„	6 & 18	stele	stêlê
	24	kind	kinds
	19	their	his
25	34*	Ibed	*ibid*
26	4	*Pāliyas*	*Pāliyās*
27	21	stele	stête
28	12	is large	is as large
„	27–29	built of	built in...then in...then in...and finally in
29	4	Sultaṇn	*Sulṭān*
32	28	locally	locality
35	8	octogonol	octagonal
36	4	Khalji	*Khalji*
	17	mother'	mother's
	19	On return	On the return

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38	17	*tornas*	*toraṇas*
	19	*tirthe* is	*tirtha*—is
	20	a terminus	the terminus
40	6	symbols, svaslika	symbols the *Svastika*
	„	self	self-
46	4	bhramārājita	*bhramarajita*
	19	chāṇḍālas	*chāṇḍālas*
	32*	*Indicaram*	*Indicarum*
48	13	adjoinmg	adjoining
	16	Knṇḍa	Kuṇḍa
49	18	Pātaliputri	Pāṭaliputra
50	23	प्रकरेस्सदा	प्रकरैस्सदा
55	26	*Dharma-chaika*	*Dharma-chakra*
56	5	or darkness	or the darkness
57	7	गर्जदधी	गर्जदधी
59	10	Rājgriha	Rājgir
62	5	Yas'ovalmmādeve	Yas'ovarmmadeva
66	32	Bhaḍṇār	Bhaṇḍār
67	7	Dhïlnā	" Dheluā
70	6	Stüas	Stūpas
71	30	South east	South-east
72	16	especially the day	especially clay
	27	*Jānapada*	*Jānapadas*
77	14	vijt	*vijita*
78	9	*Janapada*	*Jānapada*
82	title	Gujarat	Gujarāt
	5	land	area
85	29	to	in
86	2	far east	Far East
„	14	Dyvās'raya	*Dvyās'raya*
„	15	Kirtti	Kīrtti

* Many minor corrections had to be left out.

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LECTURE I

Archæology & Ancient Indian History

Generally speaking Archæology is a very dry subject. It appeals to very few nowadays especially in India where the majority are fully occupied with politics. The days, when we thought of the debts due to 'God' or the Creator, to the *'Ṛishis'* or seers who devoted their time to study and the writing of books, and to the *'Pitṛis'* or the manes who did so much for us, are now going very fast; we are becoming too materialistic these days. Responsible persons are heard remarking that there is no use of digging graves. In any case there should be no hurry. Let us win *Svarājya* first. Other things will follow as a matter of course. There is no need of carrying on excavations at present. Things may remain lying hidden under the earth. We shall expose or dig them out later on. In their eyes sites like those of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, the exploration of which has raised us in the estimation of the world, could very well be left to the future excavator. They will not mind if the invaluable relics of the past are irretrievably lost or damaged. In concentrating our attention on the world of matter and on the present, in other words in being materialistic, we are following the footsteps of the Occident. But strangely enough we are unmindful of the treasures lying hidden in or on the surface of the earth—treasures of which any nation would be proud and which would go by far to show that we were much better people than we are supposed

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to be. Scholars in the West have placed us under an immense debt of gratitude by their ceaseless efforts in bringing to light very important facts for working out the history of our obscure past. We should follow their noble example and collect further material for supplementing or for completing the work that has already been achieved. We can now decipher the inscriptions and other documents which were sealed books for us and would have remained as such had not scholars like Prinsep and others deciphered the alphabets in which they were written. And now we are able to assert with confidence that we have got sufficent material to write our own history. Somtime ago we held a historical conference at Benares—I was one of the conveners—to discuss the means which would enable us to work out a correct conception of our 'own' history, for we have reasons to believe that the facts gathered so far have not been rightly interpreted in very many cases and 'bias' and preconceived notions are not usually kept aside by occidental scholars and those who implicitly follow them in writing the history of ancient India. I do not mean that everything stated by western scholars in regard to old India is untrue or 'biased', but I know of instances where bias is clearly 'pronounced' or an inferiority complex very marked. For example, I know of a French Indologist considered to be an authority on many Indian matters, who showed a marked bias against us. I was travelling with him some years ago. In the course of conversation he did not hesitate to say that the alliance of Chandragupta Maurya and Seleucus Nicator does not mean that the latter gave his daughter in marriage to the great Maurya Emperor of India but *vice versa*! For him it was an impossibility, because in his opinion Indians are not capable of such

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victories. Well, this is a clear case of superiority complex or racial bias. Incidents like this simply mean that we have to stand on our own legs and write out our own accounts with an open mind and not with any pre-conceived ideas such as we at times find in European minds. Europe thinks highly of her own nations and poorly of others. To an Englishman Napoleon was an ordinary soldier far below the Duke of Wellington. But ask a Frenchman. You will then see in what esteem he holds this one of the greatest commanders the world has ever produced. This sort of bias is the result of patriotic feelings which are no doubt noble, but scientific research should not be influenced by them. It should be above such feelings. It should speak out the truth, even if it be bitter, for without truth scientific investigations will lose their value or charm This sort of prejudice becomes clearly visible when a question of 'originality' is to be decided. India, as a rule, is made to be the borrower. I do not understand why that should be the case and why human faculties should be so different in India. But these are general observations and I need not dilate upon them here. My object in giving this lecture this evening is to show what Archæology in India has done to serve the noble cause of Indian history. It is to be regretted that our ancestors did not pay full attention to the history of their country—they were usually thinking of the next world or of spiritual matters. They wrote in their enigmatic style and their writings are liable to be interpreted in different ways. Works like the *Rājataraṅgiṇi* of Kalhaṇa, the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa or the *Vikramāṅkadevaeharita* of Bilhaṇa have already been brought to light by Europeon scholars, Sir Aurel Stein, the late Dr. Bühler and others. Other historical *kāvyas*, like the *Virabhānūdaya-kāvyam*,

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which gives an interesting account of the Vāghelas or the ancestors of the house of Rewa, are being published. I gave an account of it sometime ago. The importance of the *Āryamañjus'rīmūlakalpa* (आर्यमञ्जुश्रीमूलकल्प) for the history of ancient India was very lucidly shown by the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal. These works would show that our ancestors were not unmindful of the material world around them and did sometimes write historical accounts, though in their own way. Even the *Purāṇas*, which were considered to be mere myths, are now being taken seriously—thanks to the labours of Pargiter. No doubt we have to study these works with 'caution', leaving aside hyperboles, poetic exaggerations or embellishments, and in this way try to get at facts in order to work out our ancient history. Ample material exists. We have simply to collect and work it out assiduously and dispassionately—prejudices of any sort will give a colouring which will certainly go to detract from the value of the accounts we prepare.

Most of us know that the early history of India is derived from four sources, *viz.*, (1) Tradition, (2) Accounts of foreign travellers or historians, (3) Archæology, (4) The historical *kāvyas* or Indian literature expressly dealing with historical subjects. This evening I am concerned with the third source only, *i. e.*, with Archaeology. My object is to impress upon you, I mean our students chiefly, the importance of Archæology for the early history of our country which is becoming less and less attractive to the practical Gujarāt where 'Economics' or commerce is considered to be the most paying. The majority of our students go in for Political Science and Economics or Modern History and abandon completely such a fascinating subject as the Ancient History of their own country. They would know more of the West than of their own mother-land, they

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would know of Alexander but not of Chandragupta Maurya, they would know of Napoleon but not of Samudragupta, they would know of Jesus Christ and not of the Buddha. But why multiply names? Our students do not feel attracted by the own history of India for they consider that it is neither paying nor easy to learn The question of 'payment' is left to the worshippers of Mammon and should not bother us in the temples of Sarasvatī—like the premises of our Gujarāt Vernacular Society—though we cannot forget the importance of riches—सर्वे गुणाः काञ्चनमाश्रयन्ते. I should like to show that the ancient history of India is a very fascinating subject and our grown-up students ought to take it up for their degree and higher examinations. It will become more fascinating when we have to study points which still require final solution. The joy which accrues from the study of such problems is known to those only who are devoted to the Muse of History. The joy which made Archimedes shout out *eureka* was known to Archimedes only. He forgot himself and came out nude from his bath. Government is sure to help such studies and when we have got persons like our worthy Director Acharya Dhruva, the Hon'ble Mr. Mavlankar, Lady Vidyaben and others to support this noble cause we may rest assured that our endeavours for Research will bear fruit sooner or later. We should be earnest and show that we deserve their help.

Archæology is a vast subject. It is a study of our monuments, inscriptions and coins. I shall take these subjects separately later on. To-day I want to talk to you generally with the hope that your interest in your past may be roused and you may start studying these monuments which our ancestors have bequeathed to us and thereby not only pass our University Examinations

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with credit but redeem yourselves of the heavy debt of gratitude to our forefathers. I intend to deliver four lectures, the first lecture, *i. e.*, of to-day, is a general one. Here I shall show you with suitable examples how the study of Archæology is helping us in writing our ancient history. The second lecture will be a bird's-eye view of, a sort of trip to, the monuments of Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwāḍ. The third lecture will give you an idea of the University of Nālandā or its remains, and the fourth will deal with the main sources of the cultural history of Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwāḍ. I shall also try to illustrate these lectures with lantern slides.

Now to proceed with the subject of the first lecture. I would like to show in general some of the achievements made by the Archæological Survey of India. First, I should talk of the Buddha. People, *i. e.*, critics, did not at first believe even in the historical reality of Gautama Buddha. They maintained that no such person had ever lived— that the Buddha was a myth just as Rāma and Kṛishṇa are. To some of them Jesus Christ is also a myth. This suspicion was roused by the accounts given in Buddhist works in regard to his birth or births in previous lives, his ascent to heaven to preach the Law to his mother, and so on. All these doubts were set at rest when the Aś'oka pillar at Lumbini or Rumindie was discovered by the Archæological Department. (Pl. I). This pillar was set up by Aś'oka the Great Maurya Emperor of India to mark the spot where Gautama Buddha was born in the Nepalese Tarai. It bears an inscription written in early Brāhmī and Pali which clearly and emphatically states that the 'Lord' was born at the spot where the column stands. Asóka, at the time of his pilgrimage, was accompanied by Upagupta, his *guru*, who was fairly advanced

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in age. This Upagupta had seen a very old man who was practically an eye-witness of the event. We all know how Gautama Buddha was born. Not only the place of his birth, but the spot where he got the *bodhi* or enlightenment, the spot where he began to preach the Law, and the spot where he breathed his last or entered into *Mahāparinirvāṇa,* have all been located with certainty. The identification of Kusinārā with the modern Kasiā in the Gorakhapur district of the United Provinces is largely based on the evidence of the copperplate which I myself excavated.

As'oka set up several inscribed pillars, some of which furnish masterpieces of sculpture, especially of animal sculpture, *e. g.*, the one at Sārnāth (Pl. II). The proper name of this Indian Emperor whose empire included Afghanistan which even the mighty England has not been able to conquer, was hardly known to history, till the Maski inscription was discovered. His edicts mentioned him as देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा. The name was, however, known to literature. The Maski inscription sets at rest all doubts regarding the identity of देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा with अशोक. This, one of the greatest personages the world has ever produced, is represented in the garb of an ascetic in an old Tibetan painting which I reproduce before you (Pl. III).

After As'oka I would like to mention the name of Khāravela, the mighty ruler of Orissa who carried the banner of victory right up to Magadha or Bihār and other places. He was hardly known to history till the contents of the now well-known Hāthigumphā inscription were published by my friends, the late Messrs. R. D. Bannerji and K. P. Jayaswal. The pictures (Pl. IV to VII), we see

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before us, give an idea of the cave containing that inscription, and the beautiful sculptures in its vicinity.

Then comes another important monument, namely, the Garuḍadhvaja pillar at Besnagar, the inscription on which has yielded information of great value to the history of India. This pillar is a monolith, octagonal at the base, sixteen-sided in the middle and thirty-two sided at the top, with a garland separating the upper and middle portions. The capital is of the Persepolitan bell-shaped type with a massive abacus surmounting it, and the whole is crowned with a palm leaf ornament of an unusual design. It was set up as a 'memorial in honour to Vāsudeva or *S'rī*–Kṛishṇa by Heliodoros, the son of Dion, who came from Taxila as an ambassador (*Yona-dūta*) to king Bhāgabhadra, from the Indo-Bactrian king Antialkidas, who ruled about the middle of the 2nd century B. C. The importance of this monument cannot be over-estimated on account of the historical information which the inscription gives. It calls Heliodoros a *bhāgavata. Bhāgavata* means the devotee *par excellence* of the Lord, *i. e.*, Vishṇu or Kṛishṇa. *Yona-dūta* means 'Greek ambassador.' These epithets thus show that a Yavana (Greek) had embraced Vaishṇavism and did not hesitate in professing his new faith. This monument becomes valuable not only because it acquaints us with new historical personages but also because it brings to light the fact that even foreigners of alien faiths adopted the Hindu religion and set up a stone column in honour of the chief Hindu God Vishṇu. This interesting information should be an object of pride for the Hindus. Heliodoros was not the only foreigner to embrace our religion. Kanishka and others also did so. So we should not fight shy of being called Hindus !

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The *Yūpas* or sacrificial posts found in 1910 at Īsāpur, a suburb of the city of Mathurā, are of unusual interest (Pl. IX). One of them is of great historical value in that it bears the very important record incised on the front of the sqare portion of its shaft, which conclusively proves that between Kaniska and Huvishka there reigned a king of the name of Vāsishka, in whose reign this *yūpa* was set up. It states—

महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य
शाहेव्वासिष्कस्य राज्यसंवत्सरे चतुर्व्विंशे।

It is interesting to observe that similar *yūpas* or sacrificial posts were set up in Eastern Borneo. One of them is preserved in the Museum at Batavia and bears an inscription showing that it was erected by the *Vipras* or Brāhmaṇas—यूपोऽयं स्थापितो विप्रैः. These belong to about the 4th century after Christ and would clearly show that in ancient times there was no fear of losing caste because of sea voyage and even the *Vipras* or high caste Brāhmaṇas used to travel by sea to go to distant places in the Far East and performed *Vaidika-Yāgas*! That even boating in the sea for the purposes of recreation is mentioned in the *Ṛigveda*, we know.

The story of Kanishka, the powerful Kushān king, would tell us that Hinduism was not so conservative in early days as it became subsequently. We know he adopted the Hindu faith and worshipped Hindu gods, and also the Buddha whose images he got portrayed on his coins.

By far one of the most interesting monuments which has supplied to us information of immense value to the early mediæval history of our country is the Aśoka pillar at Allahabad, bearing an inscription of Samudragupta, the

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mighty ruler and genius (Pl. X). Though he is called the Indian Napoleon, yet I dare say he was far superior to Napoleon because of the accomplishments and gifts of nature he possessed. He was not only a formidable warrior, but a poet of a very high order and a great musician, an athlete and a man of charming personality. A rough idea of his appearance can be formed from the portraits given on his coins of the lyre-type. By a strange irony of fate, this great king, who conquered nearly all India and whose alliances extended from the Oxus to Ceylon, was unknown even by name to historians of India until the publication of his inscription incised on the As'oka pillar now standing in the Allahabad Fort where it was brought from Kosam, the old Kaus'āmbī.

This inscription requires further study and some one of you should take it up. Skandagupta was the son and successor of Kumārgupta I. He ascended the throne in 455 A. D. and may well be considered to have been one of the greatest Hindu rulers of Ancient India in that he succeeded in routing the blood-thirsty savage Huns whose attacks had shaken the Gupta Empire. But for the efforts of this great Gupta Emperor things would have been very hard for the country. The struggle he had to make in defeating the hostile army was so severe that he had to spend one night sleeping on the ground. The joy he felt on his victory over the Huns can well be imagined. The author of the *pras'asti* or eulogy incised on the Bhitari pillar (Pl. XI) has very beautifully expressed it by saying that 'Skandagupta carried the news of his triumph to his mother just as Kṛshṇa when he had slain his enemies betook himself to his mother Devakī.' The embankment of the सुदर्शन lake under the Girnār hill had

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again burst during his reign and he got it rebuilt. The Girnār rock inscriptions are of great value for the history of Saurāshṭra or Kāṭhiāwāḍ and are recommended for careful study. They tell us that irrigation was one of the chief concerns of the Central Govenment of the time, and supply considerable material for investigation. We shall come to this important subject later on when I take you to see such monuments by means of slides.

Besides these monuments we have found out another class of old relics which have proved to be a very fertile source of material for our history. These are clay seals or sealings which were sent along with important letters or documents and bear legends mentioning the names and the pedigree of the person who sent them. How these were actually tied we can only surmise from the remains which have been recovered. The way they were despatched can also be inferred from the account given in the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa, the well-known author and protégé of Harshavardhana of Thānesar.

(Seals of Kumāragupta, Sarvavarmā Maukharī, Harshavardhana, Chandra and Assam seals). These seals shown to you are from Nālandā, the well-known seat of learning of the early mediæval India. Several were dug out by me and I have described all the important ones in my memoir on Nālandā which is expected to come out shorly. The Gupta seals recovered from Nālandā reveal new names and enable us to rectify the reading of the names of some historical personages which were wrongly read by scholars as I have shown elsewhere. With their help, we can now correctly read the legend of the Bhitari seal. The names of the queens of Puragupta and Narasiṁhagupta which

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were taken to be वत्सदेवी and लक्ष्मीदेवी by Vincent Smith and others are really वैन्यदेवी and मित्रदेवी. The Kāmarūpa or Assam seals supply us with the names of the successors of Bhāskaravarmā which were not known before viz. सुप्रतिष्ठितवर्मा and others. These seals require careful study which you can take up with advantage. Besides being full of historical information they are of great aesthetic value and would show that the art of striking *mudrās* did not deteriorate but continued to develop during the early mediæval period of our history. Some of the seals, which I have shown to you, are works of great artistic merit and could not have been wrought by ordinary modellers or inferior artists. The seal of शर्ववर्मा, for example, is a beautiful specimen. The figures on it are full of vigour and quite life-like. I need not dilate on these points here. I have discussed them elsewhere and also in my presidential address for the Numismatic Society of India held at Trivandrum. The seal of Vainyagupta (Cir. 506 A. D.) is another important discovery. The seals of Harshavardhana show that both he and his brother were born of the same mother Yas'omatī. Some of them give names of personages not known to history. There are seals which throw a flood of light on the administrative history of India. They belong to corporate bodies or municipal boards which must have existed in the days to which they belong.

The other important source of Indian history is found in our coins which have proved to be of immense value. In fact it is the coins which have enabled us to decipher the inscriptions. Coins, like seals, are being brought to light and acquaint us with new names and facts so very important for building our history.

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The importance of inscriptions I have already shown above. Many inscriptions have been found and are being found now which necessitate the revision of the accounts of our past given to us by many historians or historiographers. They further tell us of the part played by us in the spread of civilization in distant places. The inscriptions found in the Eastern Archipelago, Borneo, Java, Sumatra, Ceylon, Turkistan, Tibet and other places would prove that we were not *Kūpa-maṇḍūkas* as we are supposed to have been, but were highly advanced people who settled in and even conquered distant lands, gave them our religion and largely contributed in making them civilised countries.

The copperplate inscription of the Bengal Emperor Devapāladeva, which I had the good luck of discovering at Nālandā, affords proof positive of the spread of Indian civilisation in the Far East. This document is of international importance and shows how a king of Java-Sumatra, Bālaputradeva by name, requested the king of Bengal to allow him to build a monastery at Nālandā and grant villages for its maintainance. The *Yūpa* inscriptions of King Mūlarāja, found in East Borneo, and the records discovered in Cambodia and other places would show that India has had a considerable share in the colonization of the Far East. This fact affords a source of pride to us all. The *Yūpa* inscriptions inform us that the sacrificial posts fixed in those distant places were due to the high class Brāhmaṇas who carried their ancient civilization and religion to the Far East.

Images in stone, metal, terracotta, etc. form another source of information. The large statues of Buddha found in China or in Afghanistan will demonstrate this assertion. The fifty feet high image of the Celestial Buddha named

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Amitābha, seen at Wu Chou Shan, is one of the most imposing examples of Buddhist art in China. Similarly, the giant Buddha figure at Bāmiān, some eighty miles from Kabul, one hundred and seventy three feet in height, is a clear evidence of the flourishing state of Buddhism in Afghanistan during the early period of our history. Things have changed and *Butparasti* (idol-worship) is not tolerated in that country which is typically Moslem now. The bronze images which have been excavated at Nālandā point to the same conclusion. I myself made a large haul of them when I was conducting excavations at Nālandā. Similar images have been found in Java and there is every reason to believe that they were cast in India and were carried to Java by the pious visitors from it. In any case they must have been made under Indian influence.

The paintings would form another fertile source. As I have shown in my Memoir on the art of painting as developed in book illustrations, pictorial art of Gujarāt must have travelled to very distant lands and made *chelās* there. All these points require investigation which should be taken up. Their study will be fascinating just as the glitter of gold is and I recommend it to you.

These and other illustrations will amply show what success has been achieved by patient archæological research in piecing together the fragments from which the charter of the authentic early history of India can be constructed. I shall request you, gentlemen, one and all, to study these fragments or help us in studying them so that we may succeed in working out our own history. The study of our monuments in India as well as abroad will enable us to know of our splendid past and urge us to do good deeds to prove ourselves to be worthy descendants of our great ancestors.

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LECTURE II

A bird's eye view of some of the important monuments of Gujarat and Kathiawad

Last time we were talking of distant things chiefly lying in Northern India. This evening we want to be nearer home and have a talk on the monuments which lie in Bṛihad-Gujarāt or Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwāḍ. We should like to know something of our alluvion stages, glacial and post-glacial, etc. when our provinces had just emerged from the sea but that forms the scope of geology which is not my subject. Such matters require a stretch of imagination where even myriads of years do not count. Since the explorations of some of the ancient sites in Sind and elsewhere like those of Mohenjo-daro or Harappa it has become possible for us to talk of our ancient days belonging to very remote periods and going back to even 5000 years B. C. Antiques of prehistoric periods like copper implements of about 3000 B. C. were found in India but prehistoric structures of an advanced stage of civilization in India were found chiefly from the explorations of the sites at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. The use of cotton for textiles was at this period exclusively restricted to India and was not extended to the western world until two or three thousand years later.

There is no known structure in prehistoric Egypt or Mesopotamia or elsewhere in Western Asia to compare

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with the well-built baths and commodious houses of the citizens of Mohenjo-daro. The great bath and the roomy houses we see at Mohenjo-daro with their wells and bath-rooms and the elaborate system of drainage would show that even the ordinary townspeople there enjoyed a degree of comfort and luxury unequalled in other parts of the then civilized world.

Among the many revelations that Mohenjo-daro and Harappa have had in store for us none perhaps would be more remarkable than the discovery of the phallic emblems, for if they are really *liṅgas* they would prove that S'aivism has a history going back to the Chalcolithic Age or perhaps even further still and that it thus takes its place as the most ancient living faith in the world.

The researches made so far do not carry us back farther than the fourth millennium B. C. and have lifted but one corner of the veil that hides this remarkable civilization, but even at Mohenjo-daro there are still several earlier cities lying one below the other, deeper than the spade has yet penetrated—remains of the earliest settlements on the site have not been opened yet. It can hardly be doubted that the story already unfolded will be carried still further back on the other sites of which there are a multitude waiting to be excavated in Sind, Baluchistān, Kāṭhiāwāḍ and even in Gujarāt. The ancient site of Rangpur in Limbḍi State in Kāṭhiāwāḍ and the banks of the Sābarmati near Vijāpur have already yielded prehistoric remains which strengthen our expectations of finding remains like those already found from the old sites of Mohenjo-daro or Harappa or in Baluchistān.

We cannot omit to mention the finds made near Ankara, the capital of Turkey, i. e., at Bagazkui, which

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are about 5000 years old and appear to be connected with Gujarāt as far as the dress, especially turban, is concerned.

(Plates VIII, IX, X, XI.)

The great river Indus, the Sindhu of the Ṛigveda, has now changed its course but the people of the valley carried their civilization wherever they went in the tracts which it watered. The province of Cutch must be one of these tracts and there is no reason to suppose that they stopped there or did not carry their civilization to the adjoining provinces of Kāṭhiāwāḍ and Gujarāt and to the west coast. The Kāṭhīs, after whom the tract is called Kāṭhiāwāḍ, came from the Cutch side, we know. The banks of the Sābarmati or S'vabhrā has already yielded remains of stone implements and other articles of the prehistoric period. They are described by Robert Bruce Foote of the Geological Survey in his works called "Collection of Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities." These were found in the Mehsana District of the Gaekwad's territories. Mahuḍi near Vijāpur has lately given us some beautiful bronze images of the Buddha which though not very old yet speak of the period when Buddhism flourished in those parts. The place called Vihāra which is a locality not far from Vijāpur still reminds us of that period. These sites await exploration.

Dvārakā is a place connected with prehistoric days and brings us to the *Mahābhārata* epoch. The very name would show that the wave of that old civilization entered India through this '*dvāra*' or entrance. Unfortunately no vestige of that memorable epoch has yet been found in Dvārakā. The existing structures are all products of practically modern days. Even the great

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temple of Dvārakādhīs'a seems to have been constructed during the reign of Akbar. The inscriptions found from below the pavements in front of the adytum and on the pillars of the porch prove it. The highly polished huge stone pestles and mortars lying in the jungles, which some would connect with human sacrifices, are the only available traces of the hoary past. The inscribed piece of potterry and the coloured potsherds are some of the few ancient remains which I have come across in Beṭ. These and the old site from where these were recovered are seen in the attached plate. In fact the old Dvārakā of *S'ri*-Kṛishṇa, as stated in the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, must have been swallowed by the sea. The locality near which it stood has still to be identified. It is not improbable that it stood somewhere near the small port called Mula Dvārakā near Koḍinār. The extensive rock in it is still marked by an old shrine of Vishṇu which reminds us of the shrine alluded to in the stanza–

प्लावयामास तत्सर्वं मुक्त्वा भगवदालयम् ।

The Aśokan Rock at Girnār

This rock or boulder lies about one mile to the east of Jūnāgadh, the capital of the Jūnāgaḍh State. It bears three different records. One forms the famous set of As'oka's fourteen edicts; the second, an inscription of *Mahākshatrapa* Rudradāman and the third, an inscription of the reign of the Gupta king Skandagupta. The As'okan edicts are incised on the north-east face of the boulder. They are arranged in two columns, separated from one another by straight lines. The left column consists of edicts I to V, and the right, of edicts VI to XII. The edicts XIII and XIV are engraved below the edicts V and XII.

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The As'okan inscriptions were intact till 1822, but subsequently portions of edicts V and XIII were blasted with gunpowder by the workmen of a merchant who constructed a causeway from Jūnāgaḍh to Girnār. Two fragments of the lost portions of edict XIII were recovered some years ago and are now kept in the State Museum at Jūnāgaḍh. At the recommendation of the late Dr. Burgess, a shed was built to protect the rock from the sun and rain. A watchman has also been appointed to take care of this very important ancient monument.

The Rudradāman inscription was engraved on the rock about A. D. 150, i. e., some four centuries after these immortal edicts of the great Maurya Emperor were incised. It is written on the western side near the top of the rock. This important epigraph bears direct testimony to the care which was bestowed in ancient India by the Central Government upon irrigation even in the remote provinces. Girnār was situated at a distance of some 1000 miles from Pāṭaliputra, the capital of the Maurya Empire, still the needs of the farmers did not escape the attention of the throne. A detailed notice of the contents of this inscription is given in the sequel. The record tells us that Pushyagupta, the Vais'ya, who was the governor of the western provinces under Chandragupta, dammed up a small stream and turned it into a reservoir of great value, which was called सुदर्शन i. e. the beautiful. The necessary supplemental channels were constructed during the reign of As'oka under the superintendence of his representative Tushāspha, the Yavana chieftain. These beneficial works constructed under the patronage of the Maurya Emperor endured for four

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hundred years, but finally burst owing to a storm of exceptional intensity in the year A. D. 150. The embankment was rebuilt three times stronger than before by the orders of the Saka Satrap Rudradāman as stated in the inscription. In spite of the triple strength of the masonry, the dam again burst as it could not withstand the fury of the elements. It was again repaired in A. D. 458 by the local governor under Skandagupta, the great Gupta Emperor. At some unknown time, these ancient works fell to ruins, and the lake thus finally disappeared. Its site, buried in deep jungle, is now utterly forgotten and has not been located with certainty.

The third inscription on the rock is of Skandagupta, the Gupta Emperor of ancient India who flourished in the fifth century of the Christian era. It occupies the north–western face of the boulder and is equally important as a historical document. The main object of this valuable inscription is to record that the lake Sudars'ana again burst owing to the heavy rainfall during the reign of Skandagupta, but was promptly restored by Chakrapālita, who was the son of Parṇadatta, the Emperor's deputy, by the renewal of the embankment.

The history of Sudras'ana lake recorded in the inscriptions would show that labour and expense were lavished upon irrigation works, even in remote dependencies of the Empire, and that provision of water for the fields was recognised as an important royal duty from the time of the Maurya Emperors down to that of the Guptas. As stated by the late Dr. Vincent Smith, Megasthenese was right when he remarked that the Imperial officers were wont to "measure the land as in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is distri-

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buted into the branch canals so that every one may enjoy his fair share of the benefit."

The Bombay Presidency is exceptionally rich in interesting cave temples which throw a flood of light on the history of architecture and religion in India. According to the estimate of the late Dr. Burgess there are not less than 900 excavations of various sorts and dimensions in Western India, the majority of which are within the limits of the Bombay Presidency. These excavations are divided into three classes according to the sects to which they belong, namely, Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jaina. The earliest ones are of about the third century B. C. and Buddhist in origin.

The caves lying about Jūnāgadh must have been very numerous. Huen Tsieing speaks of about 50 convents or of these caves *vihāras* with some 3000 monks residing in them. Some of them were probably cut for the Jaina monks. A few seem to belong to about the 2nd century of the Christian era. This is an inference based on inscriptions of the Kshatrapa period.

Hero-worship is an old custom. Instances of it are met with in every country in some form or another. A person, who distinguishes himself by displaying exceptional valour or enterprise in the face of danger, or by showing outstanding fortitude in suffering, is honoured after death by public worship. He comes to be regarded as divine in descent, because of the exceptional services he renders to mankind. When a man takes a prominent part in any remarkable action or event and sacrifices his life in the achievement of it, he becomes a hero. The people he has left behind feel a natural desire to do him honour for the nobility of his character.

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Some members of the public are content with verbal applause—a few interjections like ' Bravo ' ! ' *Shābhāsh* ' ! would, they feel, meet the case. Others, however, desire to do something substantial to perpetuate the memory of their hero. One of the chief forms, which public appreciation of a noble deed takes, is the setting up of a stele or memorial stone in honour of the hero. It may or may not bear his effigy, but a record of the event in which he displayed heroism is usually given.

Heroes are of various kind and the ways in which they are honoured are equally multifarious. The monument before us [Pl. XIa] was set up for the hero who sacrificed his life while fighting to save the life of a friend. Such memorial stones are called *s'ilā-lashti* or *lashṭi* (=*Yashṭi*) in Sanskrit. In Gujarātī they are termed *pāliyā*, the name being derived from the root *pāl* meaning to protect. Stones resembling a stele are often seen in Western India to have been used for marking *pālis* or boundaries of fields, and some would, consequently, connect the word *pāliyā* with the idea of limit or boundary. But to me the former derivation seems to be the correct one.

Pāliyās are found all over Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwāḍ. The custom of setting up a stele in honour of a hero who gave up their life while fighting bravely to protect cows or human beings was prevalent in other parts of India also. In Southern India such stones are called *Vīrakkal*, the stone of a *Vīra* (hero).

The death of a person who has given his life in action, actually sword in hand, we might say, to save another life is considered to be very noble, as it should be, and worthy of being commemorated. The custom of setting up stone slabs with inscription and, also, the figures

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of the heroes concerned is very old and can be traced to about the second century after Christ. The stēlē under notice is dated in the Śaka year 122 (200 A. D.) in the reign of the Kshatrapa ruler Rudrasena and therefore belongs to the end of the second century of the Christian era. The custom must have been very old. It cannot be averred, however, that it is indigenous to India, for though the monuments like *chaityas* and *stūpas* have been erected since very ancient times, stēlæ are not mentioned anywhere or found to have been erected in equally ancient times. The stēlē under notice belongs to the reign of a Kshatrapa king. The Kshatrapas were foreigners in origin. We shall not be wrong in concluding that the custom of erecting such stones was borrowed by the Hindus from foreigners who had settled in India during early ages such as the S'akas. This stēlē is decidedly a hero stone and appears to be the earliest known *pāliyā* in Western India. The inscriptions at Andhau in Cutchh, though earlier being dated in the year 52 of the S'aka era, are not *pāliyās* or hero stones but ordinary memorials though called *lashṭis* in their texts.

A *pāliyā* in Kāṭhiāwāḍ–Gujarāt is usually marked with the figure of a horseman, representing the hero for whom it has been set up. In some rare cases a figure on a camel is depicted, evidently because the hero rode a camel.[1] In Kāṭhiāwāḍ *pāliyās* were also put up to honour men who gave their life in protecting other people while capturing a ship as, for example, the *pāliyās* found at Aramḍā near the Okha–port, on which a ship is also portrayed.[2]

1. See plate V in my Annual Report for 1934–35.

2. Ibed, VI and VIa.

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Whether the picture represents the ship which was captured during the affray or simply shows that the persons involved were sailors cannot be said definitely. These *pāliyas* are believed to be the memorials of the Vagher pirates of the locality.

The *pāliyā* which we see here is the oldest known to me. It was found at Mūlwāsar, a small village about ten miles to the north-east of Dvārakā, the well known *tīrtha* of the Hindus. It is now preserved in the compound of the Public Library at Dvārakā.

The text consists of five lines, one of which is written on the margin and reads 'Vāṇijakasya' meaning 'of Vāṇijaka.' The other four lines read as follows:—

Text

(Line 1)—Rājño Mahākshatrapa [sya] [Svā]mi-Rudrasenasya

(Do. 2)—Varshe 122 Vais'ākha-bahula pa[ñ]chamyā[ṁ]

(Do. 3)—ima(ya)m S'ilā-lashṭi [utthāpitā] Vāṇijakasya putreṇa

(Do. 4)—pratijīvitaṁ dattaṁ [sva]mitre hi (sya) ji(ni)ja[sya].

Translation

"This stone slab (*was set up*) on the 5th day of the dark half of Vais'ākha of the (Śaka) year 122, during the reign of the *Mahākshatrapa Svāmi*-Rudrasena. The son of Vāṇijaka gave his own life for the sake of his own friend."

The year 122 mentioned in the record corresponds to the year 200 of the Christian era when the Kshatrapa ruler Rudrasena was reigning, as has been already stated above. The name of the hero who sacrificed his life is not mentioned, but that of his father is given twice,

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once in the margin and once in the body of the text itself. The record is much worn and it is quite possible that the name of the hero had been written somewhere but has been obliterated during the course of time. But that is not the chief point. What is noteworthy is that heroes dying for the sake of others were greatly honoured in Kāṭhiāwāḍ-Gujarāt in the early centuries of the Christian era. This *s'ilā-lashṭi* or stēlē shows that the Saurāshṭrians of early ages kept alive the memory of their great men as a shining example to posterity. Others would try to emulate their heroes, and thus the spirit of bravery and chivalry was rendered perennial in the country.

It was but natural for them to think of perpetuating by such memorials the memory of a noble soul who sacrificed his life to save another life. Setting up of *s'ilā-lashṭis* or stelæ appealed to them and they adopted this custom of the foreigners as an excellent method of commemorating such sacrifices. To give an idea of such hero stones or *pāliyās* a photograph of the Mūlwāsar *s'ila-lashṭi* is added. (See Plate XII.)

These *pāliyās* remind us of the good days of the chivalrous old Kāṭhiāwāḍ-Gujarāt and ought to be preserved as sacred memorials. Besides, the records engraved on them throw considerable light on the local history of the place where they are erected and form a fit subject for study as is the case with the Mūlwāsar stele under notice. This is another reason why these *pāliyās* should be properly looked after.

Somanātha

The name of Somanāth causes a thrill in the Hindu mind.

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The present old temple of this name stands in the Jūnāgaḍh territory. We go to it from the Rly. station Veraval whence it is about 4 miles. The locality where it stands is termed Prabhās-Pāṭan. The new temple of this name was built by Mahārāṇī Ahalyābāī and is situated in the Gaekwad's territory.

To reach the old temple of Somanātha it is necessary to drive to the end of the bazar and turn to the right. The structure is close to the sea. Fergusson thought that it was probably never a large temple, but adds that the dome of its porch, which measures 33 ft. across, is large as any we know of its age and type. The interior of the porch is in ruins but very striking. It was no doubt, like the temple of Neminātha, on Girnār, surrounded by an enclosure which would make it a strong place. The temple now stands alone, stripped even of its marble. There are three entrances to the porch, and a corridor round the central octagonal space, which was covered by the great dome. There are four smaller domes. The dome in the centre is supported by eight pillars and eight arches. The pillar on the right hand looking from the East, next but one before reaching the adytum, has an inscription, which is illegible except the date, Saṁvat 1697=1640 A. D. The walls on the N., S, and W. sides have each two handsomely carved niches, which must have enshrined idols. (See Plate XIII.)

The temple is said to have been first built of gold by Soma, then of silver by Rāvaṇa, then of wood by Kṛishṇa, and then of stone by Bhīmadeva. It was destroyed in 1024 (A. D.) by Mahmūd of Ġhazni and restored by Kumārapāla of Anhilapāṭan in 1169. In 1297 Ulūgh Ḵhān Ḵhalji destroyed it and again it was rebuilt sometime in 1325.

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Soon after the destruction by Muzaffar Khān in 1394 it was restored, but in 1706 Aurangzeb ordered its demolition and brought it to a final state of ruin.

The memorable expedition of Sulātn Mahmūd of Ghazni to Somanath took place in 1024 A. D. He marched with such rapidity, by way of Gujarāt, that the Hindu Rājās were unable to collect their forces for its defence, and after a sharp fight for two days, he conquered both the city and the temple. Immense spoil was found in the temple, and after a short stay he returned to Ghazni. It was on this occasion that he carried off the famous "Gates of Somanāth" which are now preserved in the fort at Agra. They were brought under the instructions of Lord Ellenborough in 1842.[1] Sir Henry Elliot records that 10,000 populated villages were held by the temple as an endowment, 300 musicians and 500 dancing-girls were attached to it and there were 300 barbers to shave the heads of the pilgrims.

Western scholars are of the opinion that portrait sculpture was not known to ancient India. Owing to this belief the images which are the representations of historical personages are treated as imaginary. One cannot help remarking that such conclusions are often based on preconceived ideas. The literary evidence is decisive. The *Pratimānāṭaka* shows that there was a Valhalla or *Pratimāgṛiha* in Ayodhyā where portraits of the Ikshvāku kings were kept. Bharata when he returned from his maternal uncle after the death of his father was taken to this Valhalla and finding an image of Das'aratha there was very much astonished, for he was not aware of what had happened. This would show that not only ordinary figures but exact and life-

1. These are possibly the gates of the tomb of Mahmud at Ghazni.

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like portraits were made in ancient India. The figures of the Kushāna kings found at Mathurā go by far to prove it, for they are their likenesses. The portraits of the Ikkhāku (Ikshvāku) kings of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa which were sculptured about the third century of the Christian era, as I have shown elsewhere, must be treated as such. The images found at Mahābalipuram with the labels giving the names of some ancient Pallava kings are undoubtedly portraits. The belief, alluded to above, is responsible for opining that such images were made by sculptors in accordance with their fancies but are not portraitures. Similar opinion can be held for any portrait unless the person represented is alive and can be brought forward to compare and establish the identity. This can be done only by supernatural beings or ultra-spiritualists! Similar is the case with the figure I am reproducing here.

It is of white marble and stands in the circumambulatory passage round the back of the shrine in the temple of Panchāsarā Pārs'vanātha at Pāṭaṇ in North Gujarāt. Vanarāja was the founder of the Chāvaḍā dynasty and he flourished in the latter half of the eighth century of the Christian era. Tradition assigns the foundation of Aṇahilavāḍa to this potentate. It is said that he commissioned one Aṇhila or Aṇahila to select a spot for his new capital which he named after him as Aṇahilapura or Aṇahilavāḍa, just as he did in the case of Chāmpāner which is designated after his minister Chāmpā. There is inherently nothing impossible in the belief that the statue under notice was set up in his memory. That it is a royal figure is clear. The ornamental aura at the back of the head would show that he was deified. Such *prabhāmaṇḍalas* are seen round the figures of high personages. They do not show that

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the image represents a divinity and not a historical personage. The umbrella-bearer on the right side would indicate that it stands for a royal personage. The *yajnopavīta* in the form of a chain means that he was a warrior. The pose of the right hand shows command. Unfortunately the inscription on the pedestal of this image is much worn and not easy to decipher. Otherwise, doubts would have been removed definitely. But some images standing to the right side have an inscription incised on the pedestal which comes to our help. It shows that the image stands in the monastery which was known by the name of Vanarāja-vihāra—' अस्मिन् महाराजश्रीवनराजविहारे '– i.e., here in this monastery of the illustrious overlord Vanarāja. One of these images, the uppermost one, is of As'āka, a *Ṭhakkura*—श्री अशाकस्य मूर्तिरियं. This image was caused to be made by his son *Ṭhakkura* Arisiṁha.

This portrait of As'āka was wrongly taken to be of Jāmba, the minister of Vanarāja. The name of As'āka is quite clear in the inscription. Panchāsara is also mentioned in the record. This Panchāsara was the capital of the Chāvaḍā king Jayas'ekhara, who was the father of Vanarāja. History tells us that Jayas'ekhara was slain by the Solanki king Bhūvaḍa of Kalyān and that Vanarāja was born in tragic circumstances. The inscription under reference also shows that the consecration of the image was done according to the instructions of Devachandra-sūri, the pupil of the Jaina teacher S'ri-S'ilaguṇa-sūri who is reputed to have saved Vanarāja and his mother Rūpsundarī from the enemies. All this cumulative evidence would go to prove that the image is a portrait of the powerful king Vanarāja, who may be rightly called the first Gurjares'vara, or the Lord of Gurjara– i.e., Gujarāt. He founded Aṇahilapura-Pāṭaṇ the old capital

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of Gujarāt about the year 802 of the Vikrama era. The *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* says that he lived for 110 years and reigned for 59 years, 2 months and 11 days. Our present Gurjares'vara Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad's rule, we are glad to say, lasts longer and we pray that he may live longer than Vanarāja, the first Lord of Gujarāt.

The Ruling House of Baroda has got the proud privilage of being the guardian of one of the four *dhāmas* or chief places of pilgrimage of the Hindus, namely Dvārakā. These *dhāmas*, established by the great S'aṅkarāchārya to commemorate his *digvijaya* or victory over the four quarters, lie on the four cardinal points of India, Dvārakā standing on the western one. The old name of the locality is Dvāravatī and it is believed to have been the capital of S'ri-Kṛishṇa to which consideration its sanctity is due. No traces of the ancient Dvāravatī of Kṛishṇa are to be seen for, as the Hindu epics recount, the whole locality was submerged into the sea at the time of the Lord's departure from this world. All the present temples at Dvārakā are of recent origin, hardly anterior to the Mughal period of Indian history. Even the chief temple, that of Dvārakādhīs'a is not old and seems to have been constructed about the 16th century. That the island of Bet is the old S'aṅkhoddhāra is certain. There are two more places going by the name of Dvārakā, both being called Mūla-Dvārakā, i. e., original Dvārakā One of these lies in the Porbunder State and is certainly a pretender, for the whole lacality is of modern growth. The other, a small port in the Baroda State, standing near Koḍinār in Kāṭhiawāḍ, is certainly an old site and its situation is nearer to the description of S'ri-Kṛishṇa's capital, given in the *purānas*, than is that of the present *dhāma*. However,

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very old remains have not been found even here as yet, though traces of old foundations appear to exist in the sea.

Dvārakā is reached via Ahmedabad, Rajkot and Jamnagar. It has many Hindu temples, the chief of which, dedicated to Dvārakādhīs'a, is represented by the accompanying illustration. The temple of Rukminī, about a mile away, is much more artistic and ancient. Here is a photograph of it. Bet or the old S'ankhoddhāra is a small island and can be reached from Okha-port. Both these places are connected with the last days of Mīrān Bāi, the famous devotee of Kṛishṇa, who is supposed to have entered one of the images of Dvārakādhīs'a never to come out of it. A copy is here given of an old portrait of Mīrān Bāi in the possession of the present writer.

In the compound of the main temple of Dvārakā there is a *gādi* of the great S'ankarāchārya, the well-known religious leader of the Hindus. Similar *gādis* exist in the remaining three *dhāmas* also, *i. e.*, at Badarinārāyaṇa, Jagannāthapurī and Rāmes'varam.

On return from Dvārakā we might go to Mehsana, the headquarters of the district of that name, and visit some of the most important places of archaeological interest in the Baroda State, namely, Pāṭaṇ, Siddhapur and Moḍherā Pāṭaṇ was the capital of Gujarāt during the late mediaeval ages and is a strong-hold of Jainism, possessing very valuable ancient manuscripts and beautiful Jaina sanctuaries. Here we may see the remains of the old acqueduct constructed by Siddharāja, the well-known ruler of Gujarāt. The acqueduct was built to control the water brought from the adjoining river Sarasvatī by means of a canal dug out by him to fill the Sahasra-

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liṅga reservoir, also built by him, for irrigation purposes and social amenities. These remains have recently been excavated by the archaeological department of the state and their general view is given by the accompanying photo. These works reflect well on the skill of the engineering department of Siddharāja, responsible for cutting the canal, which added to the prosperity of Pāṭaṇ. The Samādhi of Jashmā, the handsome Oḍa damsel engaged in excavating the reservoir, who repulsed the advances made by Siddharāja, as the story goes, and committed self-immolation or *sati*, stands near the site of the reservoir. The remains of the once magnificent stepped well Rāṇivāv, called after Udayamatī, the beautiful queen or Rāni of Bhīmadeva I (11th century), can also be seen. Equally noteworthy are the mausolea of Shaikh Farīd and Ruknuddīn, which are built of the despoiled material of Hindu or Jaina structures of magnificient workmanship as seen in the attached illustration.

By far the most important temple of the State, or we might say of Western India, is the Sun-temple at Moḍherā which may be reached from Pāṭaṇ as well as from Chāṇasmā by road. This temple was built about the year 1083 of the Vikrama era (1026-27 A. D.) and was dedicated to Sūrya or the Sun-God. The image enshrined in the sanctum is missing but sculptures carved on the walls largely represent the solar deity. It consists of two separate blocks of buildings, both of which are now roofless, though in a fairly stable condition in other respects. The whole structure seems to have been built without mortar or other cementing material, though iron clamps were used here and there to secure the joints. Like many other Hindu temples it was demolished by the Musalmāns who, not content with defacing the figure-sculptures, are said to have placed bags of gun-powder

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in the underground shrine to blow it up along with the upper cell, destroying the *śikhara* or spire of the magnificent sanctuary.

The temple is rectangular in plan and its construction is typically Hindu, fulfilling the main requirements of the *śilpa-śāstra*. The eight principal columns which support the roof of the hall, are lavishly carved from base to capital. They are octogonal in plan, changing to round near the top. The architraves are also covered with profuse carving. Some of the carved figures on these columns are revoltingly obscene and remind us of the amorous figures in the temples of Orissa and some other places.

Though the image of Sūrya, which the sanctum enshrined, is now missing, the seat is there and is marked with seven horses which usually characterise his representations. The *maṇḍapa* is the most elegant feature of the temple. Two beautifully carved and detached *Kīrti-stambhas* (or pillars of victory) stand in front of the *maṇḍapa*, at the head of the flight of steps leading to the beautiful tank which is attached to the temple and is a perfect example of the kind in the locality. The accompanying illustration gives an idea of the sanctuary, the columns, and the pond and will replace further description.

Siddhapur is another important place of pilgrimage of the Hindus. It is a railway station on the metre-guage section of the B. B. & C. I. Railway which runs from Ahmedabad to Delhi. It is known for its great temple of Śiva, called Rudramahālaya (*i. e.* the great abode of Rudra or Śiva), its popular name being Rudramal. Probably, Mūlaraja, the Solanki (Chalukya

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ruler–961–99 A. D.) commenced building it and it was completed by Siddharāja, the celebrated king of mediaeval Gujarāt (1094–1143 A. D.). It was sacked and devastated first by Alāuddīn Khalji and then by the Gujarāt Sulṭān Ahmed Shāh. A large portion of it where the sanctum sanctorum stood, is in the possession of the Musalmāns who are using it as a mosque. It was perhaps one of the largest and most elaborate temples ever built in India. All that is now left of the once splendid structure is the four great columns of the hall still upholding one of the eight enormous stone beams which supported the great dome, as seen in the accompanying illustration.

Siddhapur has several *tīrthas* which are believed to be as sacred as the Gangā for the performance of obsequeous rites and offering *piṇḍas* to the manes. It is known as Mātri–Gayā and *piṇḍas* are offered to the manes of the mother side. Several myths are connected with the *tīrthas* which are very attractive to the credulous.

On return journey we might go from Anand to Dakor, one of the most sacred *tīrthas* of the Vaishnavites. It is visited by laks of Hindus every year who come to see the image of Krishṇa which is believed to have been brought during the Muslim rule.

We then come to Baroda, the capital of the state, which possesses so many places of interest, both religious and secular. The Baroda College, the Museum with the Picture Gallery, the Kamāṭhi–bag with its zoo, the State Hospital, the Lakshmivilas palace, built at a cost of 60 lakhs of rupees, where king Edward VIII stayed as prince during his visit in 1921, the Nazar Bag palace where very costly state jewels, including the diamond and the agrette, which once belonged to Napoleon Bonaparte, are preserved, and

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the Makarpura palace which is about five miles to the south of the city, are all worth being visited. The Navlākhi *vāv* in the compound of the Lakshmivilās palace is an interesting example of stepped wells for which Gujarat is known. This *vāv* was built by one of the fief holders of Baroda, about the year 1405 A. D. But the most important structure historically and archaeologically is the Hajirā on the Makarpura road, which entombs the corporeal remains of Kutubuddīn Mahmūd of the Atgah family, who was a governor of Baroda in the 16th century and a tutor to Prince Salīm *i. e.* Jahāngīr. He was the uncle of Mirzā Azīz Koka, the Governor of Gujarāt and foster brother of Akbar. Possibly this tomb of Kutūbuddīn was built by Azīz Koka. The mausoleum also entombs Kutubuddīn's son who accompanied Akbar during the invasion of Kabul in 1585 when he was the governor of Champāner near Baroda. The accompanying illustration gives an idea of the structure.

From Baroda one can go to Dabhoi en route to Chāndod. The citadel of Dabhoi was built in the reign of Visaldeva, the Vāghela king, about the Vikrama year 1311 (1254 A. D.), though the ancient town of Darbhavatī of which it is the modern representative, existed in the sixth century of the Christian era. The present remains afford an interesting example of fort and citadel-wall architecture. The Hīrā gate and the Baroda gate which are still extant, suffice to remind us of the pristine glory of the citadel. Both of these gates are architectural gems of the state. The Hīrā Gate has, to its north,the temple of Kālikāmātā possessing magnificent carving on both the faces, showing the dexterity of the old *s'ilpins* of Gujarāt. The gate has undergone many changes during the Musalmān ascendency owing to which cir-

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cumstance it has lost much of its originality. Still the magnificent balcony-windows testify to its former grandeur. The Gujarāt temple architecture is typically original and essentially Indian. The workmanship of these gateways is marvellous and shows the wonderful mastery with which the Gujarāt sculptor wielded his chisel in carving out even minute details and designs. The accompanying illustrations will replace further description.

From Dabhoi a pilgrim might go to Chāndod, a sacred Hindu *tīrtha* lying at the confluence of the Or and the Narmadā, one of the seven principal rivers, the Ganges, the Jamna, etc., held sacred by the Hindus.

The pilgrimage will not be complete without a visit to Tārangā, the sacred hill of the Jainas, both Śvetāmbara and Digambara. But before going to it we might get down at Vadnagar, one of the chief places of the Nāgar Brahmans, and see the beautiful *toranas* standing there. Here is a representation of their structure. Tārangā-the well known Jaina *tīrtha* is a few miles away from the Tārangā Hill railway station which is a terminus of a branch line of the G. B. S. Railway from Mehsana. It was once the stronghold of the Buddhists, but came in the possession of the Jainas after the former were defeated in religious disputes. The hill is known after the Buddhist divinity Tārā, the saviour, and is still marked with Buddhist remains like the image of Tārā with the Buddhist creed *ye dharmā* etc., carved on it as seen in the attached illustration. The Jainas of both the sects, the white-clad and the sky-clad, have temples built on this hill, and resort to them for pilgrimage in thousands. The famous Ajitanātha temple of the Śvetāmbaras is seen in the accompanying illustration. It is one of the best specimens of the Jaina temple archi-

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tecture of Western India. The climate of this locality is considered to be very salubrious.

Valuable discoveries in the Navsari District

Kāmrej is the headquarters of the taluka of the same name in the Navsari district of the Baroda State. It lies on the left bank of the river Tāpī. Apparently it is identical with the Kamne of Ptolemy, the ancient Greek geographer who flourished in the second century of the Christian era. It figures as Kāmavatī in the *Purāṇas*. I have, in my capacity as the head of the recently instituted Department of Archæology in the Baroda State, made some preliminary excavations on two of its old sites. One of them lies on a high mound and the other just on the left bank of the Tāpī at the foot of the mound. The trial pits on the mound revealed some foundations, basements of rooms made of large bricks, earthen pots, iron implements and other minor antiquities, which seem to be late mediaeval in origin. These pits were sunk only at the upper surface and no endeavour was made to go deeper. It was however at the foot of the mound which is being washed by the river current that I succeeded in securing very interesting and older antiquities, mostly coins. Several of such coins were handed over to me by a local hotel-keeper. This acquisition consists of various specimens, some of which are punch marked, some Ujjain or Avanti coins, some Gupta and Traikūṭaka, and some are tribal coins. A few of these coins appear to be not known before. The punch-marked pieces go back to several centuries before Christ. Some of the Ujjain coins secured by me are of

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the early centuries of the Christian era. The symbols on some of them are such as were not known before; *e. g.*, the Svastika symbol with crescent attached to the bars, or the Ujjain symbols with crosses in the circles or balls. We know that the cross with balls and the Svastika are special Ujjain symbols. Svastika is the self same symbol which has been selected as a national emblem by the Nazis or their leader Herr Hitler in Germany. Among the Kshaharāta pieces in the collection special mention may be made of the coins of Bhūmaka (cir. 119 A. D.) and the coins of Rudrasena I (dated in 136), Vīradāman and Svāmī Rudrasena III, the well known rulers of the Kshatrapa dynasty which ruled Western India in the 3rd and the 4th centuries of the Christian era.

I have been able to secure some images also, one of which though unfortunately broken and very tiny, yet appears to be decidedly Greek in origin. The other is of stone and much worn, but it does not fail to remind us of some of the prehistoric figurines found at Mohenjodaro and other prehistoric sites.

I have partially examined the contents of an old well and the area surrounding it. The well lies on the left bank of the river at the foot of the above-mentioned mound and is submerged under the waters of the river especially during the rainy season. Though the well does not appear to be old, it is significant that all these relics are recovered from the area which surrounds it. Those interested in the ancient history of India, especially that of Gujarāt, would very much like to see that the exploration of these sites is continued, for it will surely throw a good deal of light on the old history of Western India. We know that Gujarāt had commercial intercourse with

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Egypt, Rome, Syria and other places and that a good deal of trade was carried through the rivers Tāpī, Pūrṇā and Narmadā. Broach and Surat, we know, were important ports and trade centres. Kāmrej must also have been an equally important trade centre during the days of Ptolemy. Apparently Surat superseded it when the Tāpī was unfit for navigation on account of silt. But this simply means that the old sites round it should be examined very thoroughly.

In Kāmrej we find a sort of underground temple enshrining a beautiful marble image of Brahmā, one of the chief gods of the Hindu Triad. On account of a curse said to have been inflicted upon him by his own wife Sāvitrī he is not to be worshipped and very few, if at all, temples dedicated to this god are known to exist. The well-known Sāvitrī temple at Pushkara near Ajmer is the chief exception. Another temple of Brahmā in the Baroda territory is at Sadhi in the Pādrā tālukā of the Baroda District. These will go to indicate that the god succeeded in evading the curse, at least to some extent, in the Baroda territory !

Excavations at Amreli

While making a survey of the archaeological monuments in the Baroda State, I thought it desirable to examine some of the ancient sites in Kathiawad and see if any connecting link with the civilization of the North-West or the Indus valley could be secured anywhere as the belief is that one of the waves of civilization came from the Baluchistan side to the west coast of India. If the antique Dvārakā was a *dvāra* or door, as the

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literal meaning of the word would indicate, it is not impossible that the locality so called was an entrance for the immigrants in ancient days. Any old site near this locality might yield some remains of that early civilization or of the *Mahābhārata* epoch of Indian History. The present *tīrtha* known by the name of Dvārakā has not shown vestiges of the hoary past so far. This fact is significant and would lead one to doubt if the present Dvārakā is really the old Dvāravatī which is one of the seven old cities of India. Further, it is rather strange that the oldest records yet found in or near it, for instance, the sepulchral record found at Mulvāsar and the Dhinki copper-plate grant, make no mention of Dvārakā. The former is dated 122 S'aka era, *i. e.*, 200 A. D. and the latter in the Vikrama year 794, *i. e.*, 737 A. D. It is a record of the grant of the village of Dhenika, the modern Dhinki, lying some eight miles to the south-west of Dvārakā. One would reasonably expect a mention of the sacred Dvārakā in it had the locality been so designated in ancient days. The earliest epigraphical reference to Dvārakā is in the grant of the Gupta Year 230 (549 A. D.) of the Gārūlaka Mahārāja Varāhadāsa II. There is another reference to it in the grant of the Gupta year 255 (574 A. D.) of the Sāmanta Mahārāja Simhāditya of the same dynasty. Both tell us that Varāhadāsa II conquered a ruler of Dvārakā but they omit his name. All the same, one would like to examine some of the old sites in Okhamandal taluka, *i. e.*, the district in which Dvārakā lies. Some promising sites have been selected for exploration.

Amreli is an ancient town and has got some old mounds outside of it. Near one of these mounds a copper-plate inscription of the time of Kharagraha I, who flourished in the first quarter of the seventh century of

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the Christian era, was found some years ago. The document has been fully dealt with by my assistant, Mr. A. S. Gadre, M. A., and his article will be published in the Gaekwad's Archaeological Series. It is dated in the year 297 of the Valabhi era which corresponds to the year 616 A. D. On this mound, which is known by the name of Gohilwāḍ-ṭimbo, several old coins were found by local people. Some of them are of lead and one is tempted to take them as Āndhra coins. Their legends are unfortunately much worn and do not admit of decipherment. It will be interesting if they prove to be Āndhra, for then we can definitely say that this part of Western India was also under the Āndhra influence. Some of the coins are Kshatrapa and a few are Gupta. On the evidence of these finds made at the upper surface I was led to think that the area where the relics were secured must contain the remains of a very early period of Indian History. I, therefore, selected this mound for examination and sank trial pits in it last year. These pits gave me some old graves with human skeletons in them. By their side urns containing charred bones and ashes were found and also old coins, some of which might be Āndhra (?) while others are Kshatrapa. These would indicate that the graves are not earlier but belong to about the early centuries of the Christian era.

Other parts of the mound have given me numerous conch bangles with various artistic designs. I have also unearthed clay and stone figurines–Buddhist as well as Brahmanical terracotta figures of ducks, rams, elephants, etc., ink-pots, earthen lamps, pots locally called *kothis*, pestle and mortar, grinding stones, etc. The northern side of this mound has revealed a structure made of large bricks measuring about 18″ × 13″ × 3″. The way in which

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the bricks have fallen would indicate that it has suffered from some seismic catastrophe. A pit sunk in it up to a depth of some 22′ led me to a small spring which was covered with a boulder. In the debris found there I got coloured pottery pieces, fragments of beautifully carved conch bangles, bones and conches. Possibly, this was built in honour of a very respectable lady. On the opposite side of this mound, which is just above the rivulet Thebi, some foundation walls have also been opened. Evidently they belong to rooms which were used for residential purposes. Midway between this portion and the brick structure mentioned above there are several graves built of hewn and uncut stones or boulders. Evidently the whole of it is a sort of graveyard, but the graves are built on cremated corporeal remains in the way the *samādhis* of Gosāins are nowadays built. Considering this to be crematory ground one is tempted to infer that the adjoining area, which has also yielded various coins and the copper-plate grant of Kharagraha I mentioned above, must contain the remains of human habitations. Further exploration has given more interesting and important results. The clay die of S′rī-Śilāditya (I), and the clay mould which I secured from this site are some of them. We know Śilāditya, the Valabhi ruler, very well. The mould belongs to about the 3rd or the 4th century of the Christian era. The figures which it bears are derivative of Graeco-Roman 'Amorini' and are very common in Gandhāra and later art and are shown in all sorts of quaint poses, dancing, fighting, wrestling, etc., etc. The square incuse on it may have been used for making clay plaques afterwards covered with metal foil and used as ornaments or more probably for the quick fashioning of repousse′ metal work.

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The Aesthetic Aspect of the Early Mediaeval Indian Seals.

The belief is usually held that early Indian coinage decayed so decisively that not even one mediaeval coin deserves notice for its aesthetic merit. Numismatists would say that coinage in India began to deteriorate after the early Gupta period but revived during the Mughal rule. We do not find coins like those of the lyrist type which were issued during the reign of Samudra Gupta the great, or of the horseman type which were struck in the time of Chandra Gupta II. It is admitted on all hands that these coins display numismatic skill of a very high order. Their design is ornate and the execution is excellent. The modelling of the kings' figures, and the delineation of the features are remarkably skilful and lifelike. To say that such issues are only "slavish imitations of the Indo-Greek or the S'aka coins" will be too parochial for serious consideration. Coins issued after Skanda Gupta do show deterioration in design and execution. But this does not mean that seals also began to deteriorate. On the other hand, if the word is taken in the larger sense we shall have to admit that 'aesthetic merit' continued to exist in Indian *Mudrās*. The word *Mudrā* in Sanskrit is applied not only to seals but also to coins. This is clearly shown by the seals or sealings excavated at Nālandā, some of the Indore coins and other testimonies. Legends like *Suchaṇḍādakīya-grāma-mudr-eyam* are found on some of the clay seals dug out at Nālandā. The Indore silver coin of Jaswant Rāo bears the following legend in Sanskrit:—

Obv. S'rī–Indraprastha–sthito rājā
chakravartī bhūmaṇḍale |

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Tat-prasādāt kṛitā mudrā
lokesmin vai virājate ॥
Rev. Lakshmīkānta-padāmbhoja-
bhramārarāj ita-chetasaḥ ।
Yas'avantasya vikhyātā
Mudr=aishā prithivītale ॥

The word coin is derived form the Latin term *Cuneus* which means a wedge-shaped die used for stamping money. The clay seals mentioned above are similarly struck from dies. On inspecting the seals which have been unearthed from several ancient sites in India it becomes evident that the art of striking *Mudrās* did not deteriorate but continued to develop during the early mediaeval period in India. Take for example,† the seals of S'arvavarmā Maukhari. One can confidently assert that they will stand any test. The figures carved on them, human as well as animal, are both spirited and realistic. The figures of the Chāṇḍālas and the bull engraved on them are wanting in nothing as far as their artistic execution is concerned. Several clay seals which have been excavated at Nālandā and which belong to the kings of Assām or are of the Chandra dynasty will bear me out. In passing I might add that some of these seals give legends in verse like the Gupta coins. These legends are written in a way which exhibits great caligraphic skill doing credit to the writer and the modellers. The testimony afforded by these seals will suffice to show that the art of making ornate and well executed dies indicative of aesthetic development of a high order did not deteriorate but did continue to thrive in India even after the Gupta epoch to which the above mentioned seals belong.

† See Fleet *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicaram*, Vol. III, Plate XXXa;

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THIRD LECTURE

Nālandā

Name and its Origin

The name of the sacred place which forms the subject of the present lecture is Nālandā and has been current for more than the last twenty–five centuries. That it was current in the time of Mahāvīra, the twenty–fourth Jina or Tīrthaṃkara and of Gautama Buddha, and denoted this very place is proved by the ancient Jaina and Buddhist books. This place has always been considered sacred by both these sects, and that is why both the said teachers of humanity used to stay here. Mahāvīra spent fourteen *Chaumāsās* or rainy seasons at Nālandā and the Buddha stayed in the mango garden called *Prāvārikāmra–vana* near it. Both spoke highly of the locality.

What the origin of this name is has not been established with certainty. All round Nālandā there are a number of lakes from which large quantities of lotus–stalks are taken out every year. *Nāla* in Sanskrit means lotus–stalk. The place yields these *nālas*. Consequently it is not improbable that the place was given the name of Nālandā because of its being the giver or producer of *nālas* or lotus–stalks. The origin of the name as given by the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan–tsang, *viz.*, *na*+*alam*+*dā* (continuous giving of alms) is a fanciful derivation or popular etymology. To connect the place with some Nāga is equally unconvincing. What is certain is that the name ends in long *ā* and should be written and pronounced as Nālandā and not as Nālanda or Nalanda as some persons would do. Ancient books, inscriptions on copper plates, sculptures, seals etc. give

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the name in that form, *i. e.*, as Nālandā which is, therefore, the correct pronunciation and spelling.

Situation.

Nālandā is situated about seven miles to the south-west of Bihār Sharīf, the chief town of a sub-division of the Patna district, and at about the same distance north-east of Rājgir, the well-known sacred place of the Hindus, the Jainas, the Buddhists and the Mohammedans, and the terminus of the light railway line starting from Bakhtiyārpur. Nālandā is now a station on this line. In Nālandā itself there is no place of pilgrimage for the Hindus or the Jainas, though Brahmanical sculptures have been excavated from it. But in the adjoiniug village Baḍgāoñ there is a tank called Sūryakuṇḍa which is sacred to the Hindus who go there in thousands to have a bath in its holy waters. The view of the sunset at this *Kuṇḍa* or pond is very beautiful and worth-seeing. In this village there are also temples of both the sects of the Jainas, namely, the *S'vētāmbara* and the *Digambara,* and these were built here on account of its being the place of birth of Gautama-Svāmī, the chief *Gaṇadhara* disciple of Mahāvīra, the last Tīrthaṃkara. That is why the Jainas also resort to it as a place of pilgrimage.

There should be no doubt that the place now known as Nālandā is the very locality where the two great teachers of humanity, *viz.*, Mahāvīra and the Buddha, resided and that it was this very Nālandā which became known in the Far East, Eastern Archipelago, Java and other places. The situation agrees with the descriptions given in the accounts of the foreign travellers who visited Nālandā. The legends on the seals excavated in thousands contain the name of Nālandā and establish the identity beyond doubt All these documents could not have been extraneous or brought from outside.

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Glory of ancient Nālandā.

In the ancient Jaina and Buddhist books Nālandā is called a "suburb" (or *bāhirikā*) of Rājagṛiha and described as a locality which was in a highly flourishing condition in the time of the two great teachers mentioned above. This locality according to the accounts given in the Jaina and the Buddhist literature had hundreds of large mansions and hundreds of millionaires used to live there. A multitude of people always thronged in its bazaars. According to Hsüan-tsang, five hundred merchants bought the locality of Nālandā for ten *kōtis* (100,000,000) of gold coins and presented it to Lord Buddha. This shows how valuable the place was in the early ages. In the time of the Maurya Emperor As'oka also Nālandā must have been in the same state of prosperity. That is why the *Sarvāstivādins* and eleven other sects, who separated from the followers of the *Sthaviravāda* at the third Council of the Buddhists held at Pātalīputra, came and settled here. Later on, in the time of the S'uṅgas also this place must have been very flourishing. Tārānātha, the Tibetan historian, speaks of the S'uṅga King Pushyamitra's meeting with some female relative of his who had come to see him from Nālandā.

No information regarding the condition of Nālandā from this period to the fourth century after Christ is available. But from the account given by the Chinese traveller Fa-hien, who visited India in the fifth century (405-411 A. D.), it would appear that at that time the place was not a reputed one. Otherwise he would certainly have given a detailed description of it. He only mentions a village called "Nāla" and does not even hint at the existence there of any monastery, stūpa, temple or mansions. To me "Nāla" appears to be

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identical with Nālandā. The derivation of Nālandā which I have suggested above would support this identification. Nālandā means the giver of *nālas* or lotus-stalks and "Nāla" might have been an alternative name of the locality. That Fa-hien makes no specific mention of this famous seat of learning or its magnificent buildings need not cause any surprise when we remember the fact that he does not mention even the name of the mighty monarch Chandragupta Vikramāditya, in whose territories he spent six years. It is not impossible that this sacred spot was devastated during the irruptions of the savage Huns. Nālandā must have revived when the barbarians were routed by Yas'ōvarmmadēva and Bālāditya, the ruler of Magadha, as can be inferred from the stone inscription of Yas'ōvarmmadeva which was excavated at Nālandā and which has already been published by me. An idea of the heights to which the glory of Nālandā had risen during this period can be formed from the following description given in this important document:-

यासावूर्जितवैरिभूपविगलद्दानाम्बुपानोल्लसन्-
माद्यद्भृङ्गकरीन्द्रकुम्भदलनप्राप्तश्रियाम्भूभृताम् ।
नालन्दा हसतीव सर्व्वनगरीः शुभ्राभ्रगौरस्फुर-
च्चैत्यांशुप्रकरेस्सेदागमकलाविख्यातविद्वज्जना ।
यस्यामम्बुधरावलेहिशिखरश्रेणी विहारावली
मालेवोर्द्ध्वविराजिनी विरचिता धात्रा मनोज्ञा भुवः ।
नानारत्नमयूखजालखचितप्रासाददेवालया
सद्विद्याधरसङ्घैरम्यवसतिर्धत्ते सुमेरोः श्रियम् ॥

"Nālandā has scholars well known for their (knowledge of the) sacred texts and arts, and (was full of) the heaps of the rays of the *chaityas* shining like the bright clouds. She was (consequently) mocking, as it were, at

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all the cities of the kings who had acquired wealth by tearing asunder the temples of the great elephants, surrounded by the shining black bees which were maddened by drinking the rut in the hostile lands. She had a row of *vihāras*, the line of whose tops touched the clouds. That (row of *vihāras*) was, so to say, the beautiful festoon of the earth, made by the creator and looking resplendent in going upwards. Nālandā had sanctuaries which were brilliant on account of the network of the rays of the various gems set in them and was the pleasant abode of the learned and the virtuous *saṅgha* and resembled Sumeru, the charming residence of the noble Vidyādharas". Bālāditya erected here a column of victory to commemorate his conquests. In spite of the poetic embellishments this description gives us a glimpse of the splendour of the Nālandā of those days. In the time of Hsüan-tsang, Nālandā had reached the climax of her glory. She must have been very prosperous during the reign of the Guptas, the Maukharis, the Chandras and the kings of Assam whose seals were here dug out during excavations. These seals must have come with the communications which were sent by these kings to Nālandā.

Hsüan-tsang visited India in the seventh century and stayed at Nālandā for about two years during the reign of Harshavardhana and has given a very vivid description of it in his itinerary. After reading this account and comparing it with the present condition of Nālandā, one cannot but be deeply moved by the transitoriness of this world—the peerless Nālandā is now a heap of ruins. The great Chinese pilgrim was an eye-witness of her splendour and the following is a summary of what he has stated about it in the account of his travels :—

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Hsüan-tsang was permitted to enter the University of Nālandā by Śīlabhadra, the abbot of the monastery, and for ten days he stayed with Buddhabhadra in a four-storeyed building. According to him six different kings had built monasteries at Nālandā. These were surrounded by a big wall which had only one door leading to this glorious seat of learning. By the side of the great College of Nālandā were eight big halls with sky-high towers through whose windows the splendid views of the clouds and of the conjunction of the Sun and the Moon could be seen and enjoyed. From these windows, people used to see the beautiful lakes and their lotuses and groups of mango and other trees and enjoy the beauty and peacefulness of the surrounding scenery. On the four sides of the open courtyard of the monasteries were rooms in which teachers, priests and others resided. "The *Sanghārāmas* (monasteries) of India are counted by myriads, but the *Sanghārāma* of Nālandā is the most notable for grandeur and height. The priests residing in it number 10,000 and all study the Great Vehicle as well as the works of all the eighteen rival sects of Buddhism. Even the Vēdas and the books related to them and miscellaneous other works are carefully studied here. There are a thousand men who can explain thirty collections, and perhaps ten men, including the Master of the Law, who can explain fifty collections. Śīlabhadra alone has studied and understood the whole number. His eminent nature and advanced age have caused him to be regarded as the chief member of the community. Within the temple they erect every day about 100 pulpits for preaching, and the students attend these discourses without fail, not missing even a minute."

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"The priests dwelling here are dignified and grave by nature and the result is that during the last 700 years since the foundation of the establishment, there has not been a single case of rebellion against the rules."

"The king of the country respects and honours the priests and has remitted the revenue of about 100 villages for the endowment of the monastery. Two hundred house-holders in these villages contribute daily several hundred maunds of rice, milk and butter. Hence the students here, being so abundantly supplied, do not stand in need of the necessities of life."

"The monastery shelters several thousand priests of the highest ability and talents, whose fame has spread over wide regions. Their conduct is exemplary and they follow with all sincerity the teachings of the Moral Law. The monastic regulations are of a rigid character, and strict obedience to them is demanded. Discussions on the most abstruse problems proceed here from morn till night, to the mutual enlightenment of young and old. Those whose knowledge is confined to the *Tripiṭakas* only have to hide themselves for shame. Students from different parts of India flock to the monastery to participate in the discussions; but before they can obtain admission they are examined by the gate-keepers and are required to give satisfactory answers to their difficult questions. Seven or eight out of every ten, being unable to give correct answers, have to retire; while those who succeed are certain to be humbled as soon as they take part in the debate. But the learned among them who secure admission have their doubts settled and thus the stream of knowledge continues to flow over the length and breadth of the country. Men of conspicuous talents,

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solid learning, great ability and illustrious virtues, who distinguish themselves, have their names inscribed on the list of the College celebrities. The greatness of the College is so well known that in order to get fame, even outsiders declare themselves to have studied here! The works written by the *Āchāryas* of Nālandā are world-famous for their knowledge and influence." When we think of this glorious past of Nālandā, we cannot help feeling a thrill and are reminded of the saying :

'सर्वे क्षयान्ता निचयाः
सर्वमुत्पादि भङ्गुरम् ।'

After Hsüen-tsang, another Chinese traveller, namely I-Tsing, came to India and stayed at Nālandā for a considerable time. From his writings we learn that Nālandā had eight big halls and the monasteries had 300 rooms or cells in which over 3,000 people lived. The kings of the country had given over 200 villages as permanent endowment to the great University of Nālandā.

It will be interesting to note here I-Tsing's general remarks about physical exercise in Indian monasteries : we may safely infer that they were applicable to Nālandā as well. As we have already seen, the monks or scholars residing in Nālandā were well supplied with good ration consisting of rice, butter and milk. This, taken together with the remarks quoted below, would lead us to conclude that monks and scholars at Nālandā had a "healthy mind in a healthy body".-which is far from the case today when many a brilliant and well-read scholar is seen to be pale and emaciated in consequence of the sad neglect of physical exercise in most of our schools and colleges. Says I-Tsing : "In India both priests and laymen are generally in the habit of taking walks, going backwards

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and forwards along a path, at suitable hours and at their pleasure: they avoid noisy places. Firstly, this cures disease, and secondly, it helps to digest food. The walking hours are in the forenoon and late in the afternoon. They either go away (for a walk) from the monasteries or stroll quietly along the corridors. If any one adopts this habit of walking, he will keep his body healthy and thus improve his religious merit."

In the eighth and ninth centuries also, the fame of Nālandā had spread to far off countries. This we learn from the large copperplate inscription of Dēvapāladēva, which I excavated here some years ago. This important charter tells us that Bālaputradeva of the Śailēndra dynasty who was then ruling Yava-dvīpa (or Java) sent his envoy to the court of Dēvapāladēva, the famous king of Bengal, and with his permission, built a great monastery at Nālandā. To provide for the food of the priests, medicines, etc. for the sick, and for the writing of books and for philanthropic works. He persuaded the above named king to set apart five villages in the adjoining districts (*vishayas*) of Rājagṛiha and Gayā as subsidy for the Monastery of Nālandā. The Pāla kings were great supporters of the Buddhist faith and looked after the maintenance of this University. During their reign Nālandā could have known no want. The symbol of *Dharma-charka-pravartana*—a wheel flanked by an antelope—which is found on the seals discovered here in thousands is also found on the copperplates of these kings. Probably this symbol was the insignia of the University of Nālandā and denoted the spreading of knowledge—the antelope symbolises peace and the wheel on a raised platform signifies advancement of knowledge. This symbol originally indicated diffusion of the knowledge which the

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Buddha obtained under the Bōdhi tree at Gayā (or Bodh-Gaya), and expounded first of all to his five chief disciples known as *Pañcha-Bhadra-Vargīyas* in the *Mṛigadāva* forest at Sārnāth near Benares. The first preaching of the *Dharma* by the Buddha is called *Dharma-Chakra-Pravartana,* meaning 'turning of the wheel of law or true religion.' The resplendent wheel of knowledge is set in motion to dispel *avidyā* or darkness of ignorance. Turning of the wheel means preaching the *Dharma* and in the case of *Chakravartins* or sovereigns signifies that the ruler can go everywhere unobstructed—the wheel of his chariot can roll throughout the world without hindrance as he is an universal Emperor. Buddha is a *Chakravartin* for his Law, like the law of a universal ruler, is respected everywhere. The wheel of the Law was first turned at Sārnāth in the *Mṛigadāva* forest. *Dharma* is Knowledge. Thus the emblem began to symbolise the spreading of Knowledge. For Sārnāth it meant the knowledge revealed to the Buddha, but for Nālandā, it signified knowledge in general. The use of this emblem was, therefore, quite appropriate for the University of Nālandā, where all the *Vidyās* were taught. The large number in which such seals have been excavated here would testify to the great activity in educational pursuits.

Not far from Nālandā there was another great monastery which stood at Uddaṇḍapurī, one of the capital towns of the Pāla kings. Its ruins are lying near Bihār-Sharīf. In this great monastery was followed in all its rigidity the chief and the most orthodox (*charama*) form of the Mahāyāna or Great Vehicle, known as *Vajrayāna. Sahajayāna* developed out of this *Yāna* and may well be described as the "terrible" form of this sect.

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What this *Sahaja-yāna* is can be imagined from the following stanza describing the "*rūpa*" of God according to its curious tenets. Decency will not permit me to translate it :

यावन्नो पतति प्रभास्वरमयः शीतांशुधाराद्रवो
देवीपद्मदलोदरे समरसीभूतो जिनानां गणैः ।
स्फूर्ज्जद्-वज्रशिखाग्रतः करुणया भिन्नं जगत्कारणं
गर्ज्जद्धीकरुणावलस्य सहजं जानीहि रूपं विभोः ॥

The "Left-hand-path" (= *Vāma-mārga*) was followed by the votaries of this sect in all its hideousness. People were attracted towards it because it promised both "*bhōga*" (enjoyment) and "*yōga*" (asceticism); and where there was chiefly "*yōga*" in the commencement, there remained only "*bhōga*" in the end. And thus it brought about the utter moral ruin of its adherents.

Uddaṇḍapurī was a famous place. Attracted by the prosperity of the town, Muhammad bin Bakhtyār Khalji attacked and plundered it. The inhabitants were devoted to the licentious practices of these " *Yānas* " and were in no way capable of offering any resistence This bold soldier of fortune put to the sword several thousands of " shaven-heads " or *bhikshus* who resided here, not sparing a single literate person to read and explain the contents of countless books kept in their monastery !

This slaughter took place about 1197 A. D. Nālandā was only next door to Uddaṇḍapurī and must have suffered a similar fate about this period. Its lofty towers, magnificent monasteries, together with all the property they contained, must have fallen a prey to the ravages of the plunderers, though no mention of such an event is made by the Muhammadan historians. Nālandā must have been plundered and burnt. The excavated ruins

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show signs of destruction by fire. The above-mentioned charter of Devapāladēva and other copperplates recovered from the main monastery were found burnt. The bricks, the concrete, the thresholds and the doors bore clear indications of conflagration. This incendiarism must have wrought havoc and Nālandā must have remained in that desolate condition ever since.

Bihār formed a *sūbā* of the Mughal Empire and yielded a revenue of 83,196,390 *dāms*. There is no doubt that Nālandā was only a part of this *sūbā*.

This is a brief account of Nālandā from about 500 B. C. to the 12th century after Christ.

Present condition

We may now see what Nālandā is like today. A good idea of its present condition can be formed from the brief description which is given below.

The ruins spread over an area of about 1,600x400 feet. Under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, the Government of India have taken over this land for the Archaeological Department and can similarly take over the surrounding land also when necessary. Even a cursory inspection would show that the ruins of ancient Nālandā are lying buried in the fields all round. At some places, we see large mounds covering the remains of ancient buildings, which at other places have become level with the ground. So far the remains of nine monasteries have been excavated, but none of them has been examined fully. The remains very often overlap one another. When one monastery fell down, another was erected over its debris. In the main monastery, called Monastery I, there have been found the remains of at least seven structures or monasteries which were

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built one over the other. Here excavations have been conducted very skilfully and we can see the remains of the structures of the different periods clearly. According to the Buddhist custom, when one monastery fell down, its ruins were covered over and another built there. This act was known as "*chhādana*". The monasteries which have been or are being excavated lie from south to north, *i. e.*, from Rājgir side towards Baḍgāoñ or Sūrajpur. This is as was to be expected, for Nālandā was a suburb of Rājgṛiha. Hence if we go on excavating towards the Rājgir side, we may reasonably expect to find more and more ancient remains. This surmise is further supported by the fact that remains of comparatively modern structures have been found lying towards the village of Baḍgāoñ. The structural or other remains found at Patthargaṭṭi are no doubt older and belong to about the fifth or sixth century after Christ. But they can be extraneous, and were brought from some neighbouring edifice for reconstruction. The filling up of the gaps in the basement of the present structure would indicate this.

The ruins that have been excavated at Nālandā are of various kinds. Some are structural and belong to monasteries. Other remains such as sculptures, inscriptions, clay seals, terra-cottas, pottery, metal objects, votive tablets, inscribed bricks and other miscellaneous objects in metal, stone or stucco etc., have also been recovered. The more important of all these finds are briefly described below.

The structural remains are all made of brick and none of them is of a period earlier than the Gupta age. They are of two kinds and belong either to monasteries,

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or to *stūpas* or *chaityas*. The monasteries, as shown by the remains, are of one and the same general form. In plan they are rectangular. All round on the inside there are cells or rooms which open into a verandah. In the centre is a rectangular courtyard which contains a well. The verandah was either open, or closed, and its roof supported by equidistant pillars. The outer wall is generally plain – only the part near the plinth on the front side is made of ornamental bricks. Whether there were any windows or ventilators in the cells of the monastery cannot be definitely ascertained, for a wall high enough to make the existence of either of these possible has not been discovered so far. It is possible that for the sake of solitude no windows or openings were made in the cells, the door itself being considered enough to let in light and air. Some of the walls of the cells have raised platforms of concrete attached to them. Probably they served as beds or seats The walls have deep niches in them to enshrine images for daily worship, as well as for keeping other articles. On one side of the courtyard was the main entrance which generally led into the front porch. In the central room of the row of cells on the other side of the courtyard and directly opposite the main entrance was enshrined the principal image of the monastery, and it was so placed that the eyes of every one entering the monastery were attracted towards it. Images were kept in some of the verandahs also where they were placed on pedestals as is seen in monastery I.

Stūpas.

Stūpas were generally erected over some corporeal remains or ashes of the Buddha or some famous Buddhist saint, or on a sacred place, as a kind of memorial. They were dome-like in structure and had one or more

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umbrellas (*chhatras*) at the top. Round a *stūpa*, usually a ring of altars or pillars was built or else a railing ran round it. Smaller *stūpas* used to be erected on the sides of a larger *stūpa*. These contained the ashes of Buddhist *bhikshus* or else they were merely votive, erected by devotees for the sake of *puṇya* or religious merit. The general form of these *stūpas* or *chaityas* can be seen in the illustratrations.

Only these two kinds of structures are usually met with on ancient Buddhist sites.

As has been stated above, remains of nine monasteries have been found so far. The monastery which was excavated first of all is called Monastery I.

Monastery I

Here are also found remains of at least seven earlier monasteries. It is not unlikely that remains of still more ancient monasteries lie buried under their debris. On the eastern side near the base of the outermost wall where I myself excavated, signs of *chhādana* of the walls were opened and they lend support to this surmise. It is rather difficult to excavate these earlier ruins for there is a danger of the upper structures falling down. But if one part of the monastery were broken and carefully excavated, it would be possible to see how far down the ruins are found and which of them are the most ancient ones. As they stand at present the layers of different periods can be seen clearly built on one another. The builders of new monasteries, instead of laying fresh foundations somewhere, thought it better to cover up the debris of the old one, and build a new monastery over it. This was done not only for the sake of convenience, but also because of the sacredness of the

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spot. It is owing to this sacredness that buildings were constructed on the same site even after the desecration of the earlier ones. It is only from the lower or earlier remains that good material consisting of valuable relics, documents, etc., has been recovered. It is possible that the occupants or residents had to leave the monastery in a hurry and that for this reason they could not carry their belongings away with them. The hurry was probably due to the conflagration alluded to above. That Nālandā was subjected to a general fire or conflagration (*agni-dāha*) is evidenced not only by the debris noticed above, but also by the inscription of Bālāditya which, while making a clear mention of this catastrophe, records the reconstruction or repair (*jīrṇōddhāra*) of a monument to which it belonged. This record which is now preserved in the Archaeological section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, refers itself to the reign of Mahīndrapāladeva, evidently the Pratihāra king of Kanauj, who flourished in the ninth century of the Christian era. The porch side of the main monastery, where the copperplate of Devapāladeva was excavated, seems to have suffered most. The *bhikshus* must have got nervous and left the monastery in fear leaving their gods behind. Had they got time they would have taken them away. What could be more valuable to the *bhikshus* than the images they worshipped? Only sudden panic could have made them flee with whatever they could lay their hands on. No property of use, gold, silver, coins or other metal objects of any kind were found here. One should not expect to find such things either. The holy monks or *bhikshus* did not need them. For them earthen-ware was sufficient. The find of a gold coin of Kumāragupta does not count for much. The solitary piece might have fallen there any time.

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Besides objects of worship, a bronze leg has also been found here. It represents a lion overpowering an elephant, and appears to have belonged to the pedestal or throne (*simhāsana*) of some colossal statue. Two quivers and a sceptre, probably of bronze, have also been secured in the debris of the main monastery. They apparently formed part of the large statue which is missing and are the insignia of some royal image which was placed on this throne. The finding of a piece of armour and a metal helmet lends support to this view. It would not be surprising if this image were of some king who got a monastery built here. Well modelled hands and feet have also been found from the debris of the main monastery. Probably they also belonged to this royal image. These are excellent examples of the casting and metallurgy of the period. The gesture or pose of the fingers of the hand is realistic and depicts surprise or admiration. These objects appear to be of *ashṭa-dhātu* or bronze and had been made by casting. They seem to belong to the eighth or ninth century after Christ. That Magadha had very skilful artists during the reign of the Pālas is too well-known a fact to require proof. The reigns of Dharmapāladeva and Dēvapāladeva which lasted from 780 to 892 A. D. were marked with intellectual and artistic activity. Two great artists of that time Dhīmān and his son Viṭapāla acquired the highest fame for their skill as painters, sculptors and bronze-founders. These valuable articles are now kept in the Nālandā Museum. Some of the statues, or rather statuettes, of stone or metal, excavated from the site are of excellent workmanship. The peace or tranquility shown in their appearance is marvellously realistic. All these and other finds cannot be described in this lecture but some

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of the important ones may briefly be mentioned here in passing, especially the inscriptions, viz. the copperplate attributed to Samudragupta, the copperplates of Dharmapāladeva, and the stone inscription of the time of Yas'ovarmmādeva. They were found in the main monastery and constitute very important material for the ancient history of India. Only the last two have been published so far. That important documents were unearthed at Monastery I would indicate that this was the main monastery of Nālandā in the Gupta and Pāla periods of Indian History.

In the Northern part of the courtyard of this monastery, there are two vaulted rooms made of bricks, which look like the rock-cut caves on the Barābar hills. The door of the western room is almost closed, only the upper part being open, but that of the eastern one is wholly open. The upper part of this door is noteworthy in that it is corbelled. Here the bricks are laid in such a way that each projects a little beyond the lower one, to form a corbel. The door of the other room is also corbelled by a similar device, and the roofs of both are vaulted. The doors of both the rooms are surmounted by arches formed by these corbels. The structure to which these rooms belong is late Gupta. In any case it is pre-Muhammadan and shows no Saracenic influence. The arches found in it will demonstrate the inaccuracy of the view very often held that the arch was introduced into India by the Muhammadans

As has been mentioned above, the place where the monastery was built has been the site of several other buildings. Starting from the top, the second layer or stratum is found at a depth of about two feet, and the

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third, three feet nine inches below the second. In this third layer there is a drain, six feet nine inches below the topmost layer, which empties into the courtyard itself. If we go on digging downwards in this way, we come across the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh strata respectively, and might find probably older ones still.

In the centre of the eastern part of this monastery there is a room which was probably a chapel. The image worshipped was a large statue of the Buddha, the lower part of which is still extant. It was made in stucco and represented the Buddha in the *Bhūmispars'a* or 'earth-touching' pose in which he sat when he was attacked by Māra, the Evil Spirit, with all his hosts. In the verandah in front of this room several broken images are to be seen. One of them, which is of stone and lies in the southern corner, though broken, is specially noteworthy. It is a representation of Trailōkyavijaya standing upon the reclining forms of S'iva and Pārvati, the two well known Brahmanical divinities, thus showing the superiority of the Buddhist deities over the gods and goddesses of the Hindu or Brahmanical faith. Opposite to this chapel at the other end of the court-yard was the entrance to the monastery. Here the brick-steps in the upper storey are noteworthy. The bricks are so finely laid that no joints can be seen. In the niches of the northern and southern walls of this entrance or porch were found beautiful images of the goddess Tārā. At the time when I opened them, their colouring was perfect and appeared fresh. They were kept covered with bricks for protection.

The outer wall all round the monastery is built of fine polished bricks which have been laid so carefully that their joints are not visible.

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To the south-west of this monastery, I opened a monastic structure which yielded a large number of statues of the Mahāyāna cult. It might have been a भिषक् शाला (medical hall) or a kitchen, for several hearths are built in the middle of its courtyard. Moreover, some rice was found in one room which might have been a store house. A well-built octagonal well and a drain lie to one side of the courtyard.

Other monasteries, etc.

From this area, if we go to the north, we shall find the remains of several monasteries, all touching one another. They are separated from monastery I by a narrow paved path. A large number of metal images, which appear to be of the tenth century after Christ, were found in the last monastery in this row. A little further we notice an enclosure in which there is a colossal stone statue of the Buddha sitting in the *Bhūmispars'a-mudrā*. It represents the stage when Gautama obtained *bōdhi* or Enlightenment. Siddhārtha, rightly so called, sat down cross-legged in this pose, making the iron resolve that he would not get up till he obtained *'bōdhi'* or supreme knowledge, the mission of his life : ' शरीरं वा पातयामि कार्यं वा साधयामि '. He touched the earth and swore by her saying "O Earth! you are a witness of my actions good or bad. If I have never sinned, may I obtain this Knowledge." On account of his determination, which was as firm as adamant, or *'vajra'*, this pose is also called *Vajrāsana*. His touching the earth is indicative of calling the earth to stand witness, and the pose is known as earth-touching or *bhūmi-spars'a-mudrā*. Nowadays, however, this statue of the Buddha is called and worshipped as Ṭēliā Bhaḍṇār or Tēliā Bāwā Bhairava. Persons whose

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children are lean and sickly bring offerings to this image so that their children also might become stout like this Bāwā. Tēlīā Bāwā is fat, his worshippers will also become fat! "Like produces like" is the common belief.

Outside this enclosure there is another stone image of the Buddha which is worshipped by the people as Ḍhēluā Mahārāja." Near it is kept a large number of brickbats. The worshippers beat the image with these missiles so that out of fear the Ḍhēluā Bāwā might hurry to God and appeal to Him to grant the wishes of these worshippers, or else they will go on beating him!

In the upper part of this interesting statue are shown the images of the two chief disciples of the Buddha, namely, Śāriputra and Maudgalāyana, as well as of the two chief *Bōdhisattvas*, Maitrēya and Avalokites'vara, who are standing on either side of the Lord. The names of these four images are incised as labels. The well known creed formula of Buddhism, which Śāriputra recited to king As'vajit, is also engraved on it. The stanza says what Gautama Buddha learnt at the time of his enlightenment, and its Pāli version runs as :—

Ye dhammā hetu-ppabhavā hétuṁ tesam tathāgato āha
Tesáṁ cha yo nirodho evam vāi mahāsamaṇo.

It is translated as :—

Of those things (conditions) which spring from a cause
The cause has been told by Tathāgata;
And their suppression likewise
The great Śramaṇa has revealed. (Kern.).

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In the fields outside the enclosure mentioned above, towards the east, there stands a remarkable stone image of the Buddhist goddess Mārīchī standing in the shooting pose, which is well worth inspection.

Patthargha̤ṭṭi Temple

Adjoining these monasteries, the ruins of what seems to have been a temple, were found towards the north of the main site. They are known by the name of Patthargha̤ṭṭi. Obviously they belonged to some magnificent structure. From the rock inscription of King Yas'o-varmmadēva, mentioned above, we learn that a beautiful mansion had been built at Nālandā by King Bālāditya, who placed a fine image of Lord Buddha in it. It is not impossible that these remains are of this very building. That they are of a date not much later than the Gupta period is apparent.

Patthargha̤ṭṭi is only the basement and is rectangular in plan. The entrance is from the east, where several low steps are built. The most remarkable part of the temple is the series of stone panels which number about 211. They are equidistant and are fixed on the outer side of the base. The rectangular pilasters between these panels have the pot and foliage design carved on them, and above them there are trefoil arches, several of which are pointed. These arches falsify the belief that the pointed arch was introduced into India by the Mohammedans. The panels are of stone, some entire and several broken. The broken ones are filled in with bricks. All the parts have not been found. These panels are all differently, and well executed. Some of them are unfinished. The cornice of the base is adorned with *chaityas* and swans. Here and there figures of several other kinds are

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also shown. These panels depict various subjects. Their close examination will repay the labour and time devoted to them. Some bear only *mithunas* executed in accordance with the customary laws of sculpture and show couples in various amorous poses—मिथुनैश्च विभूषयेत्. Several represent only *kinnaras*; others are geometrical. Some panels seem to represent S'iva and Pārvati. Gajalakshmi is depicted on some; Kubēra and Agni are also shown. On the northern side of the basement there is a panel which represents the well known story of a tortoise. The tortoise is suspended from a stick held in the mouth; two swans are flying carrying the stick in their beaks. Below them some children are shown. On hearing them shout "let this tortoise fall down so that we may eat him up", the tortoise cries out "eat ashes (*bhasma*)" and while saying this, falls to the ground! This story is given in the *Pānchatantra* and is related to the *Kachhapa-Jātaka* of the 'Birth Stories' of the Buddha.

The hexagon and the partly open door carved on these panels are specimens of exquisite stone-masonry. The carving on these panels is proof positive that Indian artists were quite familiar with geometrical designs and knew how to make pointed arches long before the advent of Islām in India. They are anterior to Islām in any case. The Hindu artist was familiar with it already and was not indebted to Islām for it, as has been pointed out before.

There are other artistic carvings also on these panels which require study. The workmanship of these panels is excellent and cannot fail to be admired by every artist of taste. In the northern part of the eastern side of the basement there are several inscriptions which are, palaeo-

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graphically of the late Gupta period. Some letters of the later Brāhmī script are found engraved on big boulders lying on the site. These appear to be symbols or mason's marks.

Chaityas or *Stūas.*

To the east of the monastery we see several *stūpas* or *chaityas.* In fact the whole ground on this side is covered with *stūpas.* At present we see three large *stūpas* on the site, more or less in ruins. One of them stands to the west of monastery I and another which is being excavated to the north. There is yet another near the Teliā Bhaṇḍār, but this has not yet been examined. The first has been fully excavated, carefully examined and conserved. A shaft sunk at the centre of this large structure did not yield any *dhātu* or corporeal remains. It must, therefore, be only a memorial structure. It is not impossible that it marks the spot where Lord Buddha stayed for three months and preached the 'Law' to the people. It is built of bricks. The size of the *stūpa* could not have been so large originally as it is now, but every time it got damaged, it was covered and a new *stūpa* made of it. Traces are found which show that this must have been done five or six times. Probably it had a tower at each of its four corners as is indicated by the platforms found there. Flights of steps belonging to different periods have also been found on this *stūpa* and are carefully repaired by the Archaeological Department. This *Stūpa* commands a beautiful view of Nālandā with its large lotus lakes or ponds. The eye sweeps over the whole country as far as Rājgir and enables us to form an idea of what it was in earlier days.

To the south west of the *stūpa* there are several stucco images of Gautama Buddha showing different

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events in his life. All these are of the late Gupta epoch. In the courtyard of this *stūpa*, many smaller *stūpas* were excavated. Some of them are built one over the other. As the main *stūpa* increased in size owing to the additions and reconstructions, its courtyard covered more and more ground. Many of the smaller *stūpas* were thus buried underneath the debris. These have now been opened to enable the spectators to see the different layers or strata. A brick drain going out of the monastery or kitchen adjoining monastery I falls into the courtyard of this *stūpa*. This circumstance would indicate that the *stūpa* was built long after that monastery.

To the south west of this *stūpa* is a splendid though slightly damaged image which possibly represents Nāgārjuna, the chief exponent of the Great Vehicle, or Mahāyāna. It is enshrined in a miniature temple. To the north of this image and to the north east of the *stūpa* there is a standing image of the *Bodhisattva* Avalokites'vara. It is made of polished stone and is well worth seeing. From some small *stūpas* to the west of this image of Avalokitēs'vara old bricks were found bearing the *Pratītya-samutpāda* formulas and their exposition inscribed on them. The alphabet in which they are written is Gupta, and the language, Sanskrit. The commentary or *vibhaṅga* as written on these bricks is complete and therefore imparts great importance to them. The *Vibhaṅga* was found in books but not in inscriptions. At other places it was only the twelve *nidānas* (or the concatenations of cause and effect) as seen by the Buddha at the time of his Enlightenment, which were found inscribed. But these bricks give the full text of the *nidānas*, as well as their exposition in Sanskrit.

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The deposit of these texts must be considered as an act of great merit. In very many cases sealings of clay with only the creed formula written on them are found deposited in *stūpas*.

Towards the north and in the *stūpa*-area where we see several *stūpas* of various dimensions, there are miniature *chaityas* with inscriptions containing the name of the Pratihāra King Mahīndrapāla. These records would indicate that Magadha or Eastern Bihār was included in the Pratihāra kingdom in the time of that ruler.

To the west of these small *stūpas* are some large brick structures which contain stucco images of the Buddha seated in the *vajrāsana* pose. These have been dug out very carefully. Further excavations are expected to yield interesting results.

Many miscellaneous relics especially the clay seals of great importance have been secured during these excavations. They are preserved in the Nālandā Museum and supply valuable material for the early history of India. These have been noticed in detail in my memoir on Nālandā. A brief notice of a few of them might be added here. Seals were dug out in thousand and of different kinds. Some of them were sent by Emperors and chiefs. Several belong to high officials, some to monasteries and *agrahāras* etc., and some of them were sent by *Jānapada* or municipal boards. They are written in letters of the seventh century after Christ. The *Jānapada* seals would show that about the late Gupta period, people in different parts of India had made their own *Jānapadas* or municipal Boards such as we see now-a-days. Some of these *Jānapadas* were under the authority of Nālandā itself.

Other articles: Clay seals.

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A number of these seals were sent by learned people. The majority of them are the seals of the Great Monastery of Nālandā and might well be regarded as those of the Nālandā University.

Gupta Seals.

Such of the seals as were sent by Emperors and Rulers are very informative. For example, those of the Gupta Emperors, of King Harshavardhana, and of the kings of *Prāgjyōtisha* or Assam possess considerable value in that they give us information which was not known before. The earliest amongst the Gupta seals is that of Budhagupta. These seals of the Guptas, as I have pointed out elsewhere, enable us to find out the correct names of some of their queens, which were wrongly read before. The seal of Narasiṁhagupta in the collection shows that Narasiṁhagupta was the son of Puragupta and that the name of his mother was Vainyadevī and not Vatsadevī as was hitherto believed. The seal of Kumāragupta, the son and successor of Narasiṁhagupta, gives us the correct name of his (Kumāragupta's) mother, which was Mitradevī and not Mahālakshmīdevī or Mahādevī. These names were wrongly read by Fleet, Vincent Smith, and Hoernle.

One Gupta seal in the collection gives the name of the Gupta Emperor Vainyagupta, whose copperplate inscription was found at Farīdpur a few years ago. It further shows that Vainyagupta was an independent ruler.

Other seals, etc.

Another interesting seal in the collection is that of (Bha)gavachchandra, a king who was not known before. The legend on this seal would show that he was the nephew (sister's son) of Gopachandra, who, in the legends

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of the Punjab, is known as Gopichand whom Bhartṛhari initiated into the mysteries of *yoga*.

The Assam seals recovered from the excavations are important, for they give us the genealogy of the kings of *Prāgjyotisha*, from Pushyavarman down to Suprati-shṭhitavarman.

Several seals of Harsha or Harshavardhana were excavated at Nālandā.They furnish us with an interesting piece of information regarding his pedigree, which according to the legends written on them is: Naravardhana, his son Rājyavardhana (I) by Vajriṇīdevī, his son Ādityavardhana by Apsarodevī, his son Prabhākaravardhana by Mahāsenaguptādevī, his son Rājyavardhana (II) by the same mother Yas'omatīdevī (*tasyām=evo=tpannaḥ*).

I may illustrate here only one of these seals. The Sonpat seal, which Fleet reproduced in 1888, must have belonged to some plate which is not forthcoming. The Nālandā specimens, so far recovered, seem to be the impressions taken from some independent moulds. As we see even nowadays, the originals are only the negatives which, when printed at the time of sealing documents, give the positives. The *mudrā* of *Rākshasa* round which the plot of the *Mudrārākshasa* centres, was, perhaps, of the same kind. The present specimen consists of two fragments which, when put together, seem to form a complete seal, excepting some letters about the middle of almost every line of the legend and the proper right portion of the upper field which gave the device including the head of the recumbent bull. Owing to the transverse cut the specimen is broken in two. The seal appears to have been oval in shape, the axes being about $4\frac{4}{5}''$ and $5\frac{7}{10}''$, measuring the surface encompassed

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by the first curve going round the written portion and the emblem. The legend consists of twelve lines of which the five lines at the end are written in letters smaller than those seen in the rest. Evidently, the engraver found that he would not be able to manage the whole legend in the limited space and had to reduce the size of the *aksharas* after writing out the first seven lines. Like the inscription on the Sonpat seal the legend in this specimen is written in the flowery script of the seals of Śarvavarmman. The Sonpat seal is larger ($6\frac{7}{8}'' \times 5\frac{7}{8}''$) and the legend is written in bigger letters. Possibly that also had twelve lines of writing though they are not distinct on the facsimile given by Fleet. According to his transcript they also ended like the lines in the present specimen. The legend on the seal under notice is, practically, a genealogical table of the family of Harsha or Harshavardhana, the pedigree being identical with what is given in the Madhuban and the Banskhera copperplates of this potentate.

TEXT.

1 Symbol [॥*] Mahāraja-s'rī-Nara[varddhanas=ta] [sya] puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyāta[ḥ*] Śrī-Vajriṇī-

2 dēvyām=utpannaḥ paramādityabha[ktō Mahā]-rāja-s'rī-Rājyavarddhanaḥ[॥*]Tasya puttras=tat-pā-

3 d-ānudhyātaḥ s'rī-Apsarōdēvyām=utpanna[ḥ para]-mādityabhaktō Mahārāja-s'rīmad-Āditya—

4 varddhanaḥ[॥*]Tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ s'rī-[Ma] - [hā]sēnaguptādēvyām = u[tpa*] - nnaḥ chatuḥsamu—

5 dr-ātikkrānta-kīr[ttiḥ] pratāp-ānurāg-ōpa[nat-ānya]-rājō varṇṇās'rama-vyavasthāpans-pravṛitta—

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6 chakkra ēka-chakkra-ratha iva prajānām=arttiha[raḥ] paramādityabhakta[ḥ] parama-bhaṭṭāraka—

7 Mahārājādhirāja-s'rī-Prabhākaravarddhana(ḥ॥*] Tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ atis'ayita-

8 pūrvvārāja-charitō dēvyām=amala-yas'ōmatyām [s'rī]-Yas'ōmatyām=utpannah[ḥ] paramasaugataḥ Suga-

9 [ta i]va parahit-ānurataḥ paramabhaṭṭā[raka]-Mahārājādhirāja-s'rī-Rājyavarddhana-[ḥ॥*] Ta-

10 sya=ānujas=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ paramabha[ṭṭā][1] rikā-Mahādēvī-s'rī-Yas'ōma[tyām] dē-

11 vyām=[ēv-ō]tpannaḥ paramamā[hē]s'varaḥ Mahēs'vara iva sarvva-sa

12 tv-ānukampaka[ḥ*] paramabhaṭṭāraka-[Mahā] rājādhirājya-s'ri-Harshaḥ[॥*]

The text of this seal is not entirely identical with that of the Sonpat seal. The genealogy given here is practically the same as in the above-mentioned copperplates, the difference, being not very substantial. The name of the king as given in this and other specimens recovered from Nālandā is not Harshavardhana but only Harsha. The latter name is found not only in the two copperplate inscriptions but also in the Sign-Manual or autograph on the Banskhera plate. The facsimile of the Sonpat seal is very indistinct. A genius like Bhagwanlal Indraji or an epigraphist of the type of Fleet alone could make so much out of it. While giving the name Harshavardhana Fleet could not help remarking that the three *aksharas* '*vardhanaḥ*' are rather small and cramped in the centre of the bottom of the seal. Other differences need not be dilated upon here.

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Out of the **official** seals the beautiful specimen bearing the legend—

1 Nagara-bhuktau Kumār-āmāty-ādhi-
2 karanasya

which is written in the Gupta script of about the 5th century (A. D.) under the standing figure of Lakshmī, flanked by an elephant, is quite remarkable for its artistic execution.

Among the seals belonging to **dignitaries** or **private individuals** the one of Śrī-Pas'upatisiṁha looks particularly noteworthy. On palaeographic grounds it may be relegated to about the 7th century A. D. The legend which it bears reads as follows :—

1 Vijt ārāti-gaṇasya nyāyavatō rāja-
2 vṛtti-nipuṇasya [॥*] sva-guṇ ābharaṇasya
3 s'rī-Pas'upatisiṁhasya la[kshmo (?) = yaṁ] [॥*]

This may be rendered as :—

'The token of the illustrious Pas'upatisiṁha, whose excellences are his ornaments, who was just and expert in (*performing*) royal service and who has completely conquered the group of (*his*) foes.' Here the last word is not quite clear but I doubt if it could be different from what I have taken it to be. The term *lakshma* is a *trilingī* and is used in the sense of 'sign' or 'token', usually in the neuter gender. I am, however, not aware if it is used in this sense in the masculine gender elsewhere. Can we read *iyam* and supply *mudrā*? The use of it is significant for it clearly proves that such seals were used as tokens sent in support of the genuineness or authenticity of documents despatched along with them.

One of these seals is specially interesting in that it enables us to comprehend the import of the

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word '*janapada*'. The device we see on this seal consists of a seated male figure, nimbate, with left hand holding, probably, a *ghaṭa* or *maṇgala-kalas'a*, the right, a rosary or *akshamālā*, and flanked by a tree on a platform enclosed by a railing. Below this device there is a short legend of two lines reading :—

1 Purikā-grāma-jā-
2 napadasya

and means '(*The seal*) of the *Janapada*, *i. e.*, Political Community of the *Purikā*-village.' Obviously, the word *jānapada* is not used here in the sense of '*dēs'a*' which is the dictionary meaning of it, but has to be taken in the sense of '*political community*' or 'unit' or '*corporate body*'.

The other seal belongs to the village of *Pādapā* and the legend which it bears reads:—

Pādapā-grāmasya [॥*]
(*The seal*) of the village (*named*) *Pādapā*.

In several cases, these seals, whether they belong to royalties, offices, communities or villages, either show long grooves or have holes drilled right through the back. Evidently, they were meant for being tied to documents by means of strings. Some of these seals appear to be sun-dried and were probably fastened when they were still fresh or wet to let the string pass through easily. They were then dried in the sun, possibly. Others, with a hole going right through the back, were probably burnt in some kiln and were apparently kept ready for use in the future. No document has yet been found at Nālandā with any of these seals to show how they were fastened. That such seals or tokens were tied to letters by means of a thick and strong *sūtra* or string is shown by the following description of the *lekha-hāra* or courier from

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Kṛishṇa, the brother of Śrīharsha, which Bāṇa gives in the *Harshacharitam*[1] :—

अथ तेनानीयमानम्, ... अतिनिबिडसूत्रबन्ध-निम्नितान्तरालकृतव्यवच्छेदया लेखमालिकया परिकलितमूर्धानम् ..... प्रविशन्तं लेखहारकमद्राक्षीत्.

'Then he beheld the messenger entering as he was brought before him,—his legs tired and heavy with the long journey, with his tunic girt up rightly by a mud-stained strip of cloth, the knot hanging loose and fastened up by a rugged clout swinging behind him, and having his head wrapped with a bundle of letters, which had a deep division pressed into it by a very thick thread that bound it.....' Such seals as were found in their entirety, like the one of Pas'upatisiṁha, were probably fastened to strings whose ends were secured on the documents themselves either by being sealed with the same seal or by another seal or token. The string might have been of hemp or of cotton. In the absence of any specimen it cannot be determind whether these documents were written on wood, leather, palm-leaves, paper or any other material. But an idea as to how these seals must have been tied to them can be formed from the description of the remarkable documents which Sir Aurel Stein discovered at Niya and has described with good illustrations in his *Ancient Khotan*[2] and *Serindia.*[3] These seals were usually broken when a document was read after its receipt to avoid forgery. That is the reason why they are found more or less

1 Nirṇayasagara ed. p. 52; *trans.* by Thomas and Cowley. pp. 40-41.

2 Vol. I, pp. 319 and 352, etc., plates XCIV, XCV, etc.

3 Vol. IV, plates XXII, XXIII, etc.

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damaged. This is done even nowadays. In ancient India it was rather the potter's mud or clay which was generally used instead of the shellac or sealing wax, and the *lēkha-hāraka* was like the *harkārah*, of to-day.

A few of the proper names occurring in the legends of some of these seals are not clear, but appear to be non-Sanskritic. The dynasty to which they belong is not known.

Some of the seals have been executed with considerable skill, *e. g.* that of the Maukhari king Śarvavarmā. A few give legends in verse as is the case with the coins of the Gupta kings.

All these seals used to be sent tied to papers, etc. From the marks on them it appears that strings or palm-leaf fibres were used for tying them. For the sealing wax of to-day clay was probably used in those days. A piece of white *khādi* was found in the hole of one seal. These seals were probably stamped from dies, but only three such dies have so far been recovered. No die has been found of the seals of the Great Monastery of Nālandā, thousands of which have been excavated. A large haul of solid miniature *stūpas* was also made in the course of excavations at Nālandā. Some of these *stūpas* were broken for the sake of examination and were found to contain a small clay 'sealing' with the creed formula *Ye dharmā* etc. written on it. As remarked above, this formula means supreme knowledge or *Bodhi*. If the *stūpa* were to be taken to stand for the body, the whole thing would symbolize the Buddha with his supreme knowledge. Plaques and tablets or impressions were possibly offered as gifts or given as *prasāda* or mementos. They have also been found

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at Nālandā in large numbers. They are of various kinds or shapes but all have the creed formula (*Ye dharmā...*) stamped on them. Some also bear the figures of the two chief Bodhisattvas, Maitreya and Avalokites'vara. Others have merely a *stūpa* or *stūpas* imprinted on them. They are all well executed and speak highly of the skill in modelling of the ancient artists of Nālandā.

It is hoped that you will be able to appreciate the greatness of Nālandā from this brief description. The account is by no means exhaustive, but I believe that it is enough to show the grandeur, glory and fame of the Nālandā that was.

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LECTURE IV

Sources of the Cultural History of Gujārat & Kathiāwad

Before I speak to you on the subject of this evening's lecture, that is, the sources of the cultural history of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād, I should like to point out that I am taking the word Gujarāt in a wide sense as meaning the whole land where the chief language of the people is Gujarāti. From a linguistic point of view Gujarāt comprises a fairly large area. In many places the vernacular is not limited to Gujarati, but I would confine my remarks to the country or countries or tracts where the preponderating tongue is Gujarāti. Even Cutch is included in this connotation, for there the official language is Gujarāti. The whole of Kāthiāwād is included in it as also are the north, the central and the southern Gujarāt. It will include Eastern and Southern Rājputānā and Western Khandesh or the slopes of the Aravali mountains. We have to remember that the Bhīls also speak Gujarāti. I include the old Ānartta and the Surāshṭra of the *Purāṇas* or the epics, as well as the Lāṭa country. In brief, my remarks will apply to what in a word we call *Bṛihad*-Gujarāt. In the south we can go beyond Bombay and need not confine ourselves to the limit of Daman. Gujarāti is spoken in the districts of Thor and Parthar in Sind. Thus a portion of Sind can well be taken in. Kachhi and Sindhi are allied to each other, Kachhi being only a dialect of Sindhi. I do not know of any one old name designating the whole of this area where Gujarāti is the lingua franca or common language. Perhaps there was none and the several parts of this area have had different

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denominations. Ānartta, Kus'asthali, Saurāshṭra and Lāṭa are some of them. Sindhudes'a is, of course, the whole of the area which is watered by the great river Indus, the Sindhu of the ancient days. The name Gujarāt is comparatively modern. It seems to have come in vogue about the 10th century of the Christian era in the terms गुर्जरदेश, गुर्जरमण्डल and गुर्जरत्रा. The term Gurjaratrā has given us the name Gujarāt. Both Kāthiāwāḍ or Soraṭh and Gujarāt proper are so closely related that we can hardly think of the one as distinct from the other. The same is the case with Ānartta and Saurāshṭra as we learn from the phrase आनर्त्त-सौराष्ट्राणाम्. I would therefore designate the whole of this linguistic area as Gujarāt and my remarks apply to the whole of it. It is near the sea coast and is an "open door" to visitors and invaders. Possibly that was why the name of Dvāravatī was given to a part of it. So many hosts of peoples came through this doorway and many even settled in the country. Or, in other words, a wave of foreign civilization came through this door. This side of India has been subjected to external influences from prehistoric times to medieval periods. It must have had contact with the Indus civilization. Interesting finds have been made at Bagazkui near Ankara, the present capital of Turkey. One of the representations on a rock found there is believed to be 5000 years old and wears a dress which looks Gujarāti, especially the turban with its thick rope-like coils and twines. Indeed we have not yet found many remains in Gujarāt which can definitely be relegated to that civilization. The finds from the village of Ranpur in the Limbdi State do remind us of it and do not make it unreasonable to hope to get at such antiques of the old Indus Valley. The finds made by Col. Foote, which he ascribes to the neolithic period, strengthen that

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hope. But we may not talk here of the prehistoric or even the semi-historic ages and shall leave the hoary past at rest for the present.

To come to the subject. The sources of our cultural history are the same as those for the general history of ancient India. While mentioning them I need not dilate upon the history which they help us in building These sources are mostly discussed at length by our worthy Superintendent, my friend, Mr. Rasiklal Parikh in his learned introduction to the *Kāvyānuśāsana* of Āchārya Hemachandra, the versatile Jain scholar of the medieval Gujarāt, whom the Jains remember as कलिकालसर्वज्ञ, and rightly.

First of all I shall notice the epics and the *Purāṇas* including traditions. They do not mention Gujarāt as such. I am not aware if this term occurs in our books prior to the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa where the word गुर्जर is to be found. Ānartta-deśa figures in the *Purāṇas* and it is not impossible that आनर्त्त was so called because it was inhabited by people who did not follow the sacred Aryan customs. This name would lead us to think that originally the country was inhabited by the un-Āryans. Possibly the Raivatas were some of them and Revati whom Balarāma, the elder brother of Sri Kṛishṇa married, was a descendant of that race. Such marriages are indicative of the admixture of blood. The drinking bouts of the Yādavas mentioned in some of the *Purāṇas* are un-Āryan in origin. The funny trick which some Yādava urchins played upon Durvāsā, the great Āryan Ṛishi, which led to their destruction, would lead to the same surmise. The episode of Balarāma dragging the river Yamunā under the influence of wine and his *nīla* costume are also pertinent on this point.

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Some scholars have gone so far as to think Kṛishṇa or rather Vishṇu to be a deity of an un-Āryan origin, especially on account of his dark complexion. The story of Subhadrā and Arjuna has also some bearing on this point. That many people of this land are fond of Surā is not void of significance. I mean no offence to any body. In any case these accounts do bear on the cultural history of our province. Under this head I may be allowed to take literature in general, Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina. The Buddhist books, the *Mahāvaṁs'a* and the *Dipavaṁs'a* teach us a good deal about the cultural history of Gujarāt. I am quite prepared to agree with Dr. Barnett and Mr. Parikh in thinking that the aryanisation of Ceylon was due to the enterprise of the old Gujarāt. Vijaya was not a Bengali but a Gujarāti prince. The tradition says that during the sixth and the seventh centuries of the Christian era people came in fleets from the coasts of Sindh and Gujarāt and formed settlements in Java and Cambodia. This is a redeeming feature, and, as Jackson says, it places the ruling tribes of Gujarāt among the great conquerors and colonisers. During the last two thousand years the record of the Gujarāt coast shows a genius for seafaring fit to ensure the successful planting of the people of Gujarat in the Malay Archipelago. The नाभिनन्दनोद्धारप्रबंध aptly says about Gujarat:

यन्निवासिजनः सर्वो वेलाकूलेषु भूरिषु ।
व्यवसाये कृतेऽल्पेऽपि निस्सीमश्रियमश्नुते ॥

Even now we find Gujarātis going to Africa, settling there and amassing wealth to bewildering amounts. The paintings of the ancient Gujarāt closely resemble the paintings we find in southern India, at Sittannavasal for example, and in Burma or Pagan and will suffice to show

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that the wave of civilization did go from Gujarāt towards the south and the distant far east. The *Lekhapaddhati* compiled in old Patan or Anahilapura about *Saṁ*. 1533 (or 1477 A. D.) is another source of information for the purpose. It gives copies of various documents including those connected with slave trade, which largely add to our knowledge of the medieval Gujarāt. The names of kings given in them are connected with Gujarāt. Some of these documents shed considerable light on the Panchāyat System so very common in Gujarāt in the 15th century and show that Gujaratis did not lose caste by sea-voyages. The *Kathāsaritsāgara*, the *Daś akumāracharita*, the *Prabhandas* collected by Jaina writers, the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, the *Prabhāvakacharita*, the *Dyvāś rayakāvya* and works like the *Kīrttī Kaumudī* and *Sukṛita saṅkīrtana*, the *charitas* etc. are storehouses of information for the cultural history of this province and I need not dwell upon them here: you are familiar with them I am sure. The story of *Kālikāchārya* in the *Kathānaka* which usually forms an adjunct to the *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu tells us that Gardhabhilla, the father of the great Vikramāditya, fell in love with the sister of Kālikāchārya and seized her. The monk not being able to rescue her, went to the S'akas who were residing on the banks of the Sindhu or Indus and brought them down to Ujjain and with their help got himself fully avenged. The pictures of the S'akas which we see in some of the Jaina works are interesting in that they give us considerable information about the way they dressed themselves, cut or fashioned their hair, moustaches and beards. Apparently the inhabitants of Gujarāt, especially the higher people, adopted these styles. This cutting of the moustaches in front is decidedly a non-Aryan feature. But some of our sculptures, such as the images of Vanarāja

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Chāwaḍā etc., have this characteristic feature. They remind us of the old Egyptians and would make us pause and think if our ancestors borrowed these habits from the non-Aryans. In any case this is a point worth examination. One is afraid to call our ancestors un-Aryan and unless and until we find a definite proof about their origin we cannot affirm that the Chāwaḍās or Chāpotkaṭas, the Chālukyas or the Solankis and others were Semitic or Mongolian or Hūṇa etc. in descent. The examination of these vestiges, including sculptures, would lead us to surmise that they were not of pure Aryan origin. Admixture must have taken place. I mean no offence.

This much I might be permitted to say that many of the historians from outside India and their blind followers are not free from bias and prejudice and to them Indo-Aryan does not mean a conquering but a conquered people. Whenever a conqueror comes they will find non-Aryan blood there! Our ancestors called themselves Āryas or ईश्वरपुत्रs-the selected sons of God. But things have changed since. However, this is a digression only.

The *Vijñaptipatras* or letters of solicitation and invitation form another source. I think they are the specialities of Gujarāt-Kāthiāwāḍ. Those who have read my article on them in the American Journal *Asia* will know the importance of such documents for our cultural history of the medieval days. The pictures they contain and the descriptions of various towns or villages, their rulers and their inhabitants, supply us with very vivid information regarding our manners, customs, avocations, dress, ornaments and so forth.

The ballads or songs, devotional or others, all require careful study. Who would not like to study the

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songs of Narasi-bhagat and of Mīrābāi and other devotees of Kṛishṇa? Gujarāt was the adopted land of Mīrābai and Gujarāt is proud of her. The songs of such *bhaktas* which are written in Gujarāti, will give ample historical material. The pictures found in Jaina works are also helpful for our studies. By far the most fertile source is epigraphy or the study of inscriptions, and here we stand on firm ground. The most important and the earliest known inscriptions in these provinces are engraved on the well-known rock at Girnār, the old Girinagara, which was probably the chief town in those parts and remained as such till it was superseded first by Bhinmāl and then by Anahila-Pāṭan. This rock bears records which throw a flood of light on the cultural history of ancient Gujarāt. Besides the As'okan edicts, it gives an inscription of the time of Rudradāman and another of Skandagupta, the mighty Gupta Emperor, who vanquished the barbarian Hūṇas. These records show the care which was bestowed upon irrigation in ancient Gujarāt and that a Vais'ya, Pushyagupta by name, was in charge of the water-works during the reign of Chandragupta Maurya. Pushyagupta must have been a genius. He was the Governor of the Western provinces and found out that by damming up a small stream a reservoir of great value for irrigation could be provided. Accordingly, he formed the lake Sudars'ana (the beautiful) which must have played a very important part in our history. Later on, coming to medieval ages, we find Siddharāja following this noble example. We know how he succeeded in cutting a canal from the Sarasvatī to feed the Sahasraliṅga reservoir which added to the prosperity of North Gujarāt by enabling the people round Patan to irrigate their fields and fruit gardens so highly spoken of by foreign historians.

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The other noteworthy and early record connected with the subject of this evening is the Mulvāsar inscription which is now preserved in the Public Library at Dvārkā. It belongs to the reign of the *Mahākshatrapa Svāmī* Rudrasena I and shows how in early days a Gujarāt hero could gladly sacrifice his life to save a friend. This is a memorial slab technically termed *Laṭṭhi* or *Yashṭi*. Now we call such stone slabs Pāliās. I believe it is the earliest hero-stone yet known in these parts, if not in India. It was erected in honour of a man who died fighting for the sake of a friend and is a clear evidence of hero worship. Gujarāt must have been proud of worshipping her heroes. Hundreds of Pāliās are found standing as witnesses of the heroic exploits of old Gujarāt. On some of these memorials ships are represented. Apparently, these ships were captured by the buccaneers in whose memory the Pāliās were put up. However nefarious these acts might have been, the bravery displayed in performing them cannot be denied.

It is impossible to notice all the inscriptions bearing on the point. Those I mention will suffice to create a taste for their study. The long stone inscription at Kṣodinār would show that there was a large college at Prabhāsa Pāṭan which was called *Sārasvatam-sadaḥ* i. e. the abode of Sarasvatī, the Goddess of learning. That Bhinmāl and Pātan were also centres of learning, we know.

The magnificent architectural remains are evidences of Gujarāt having been a great builder. The accounts given in the *S'rīmāla-purāṇa* would show that the स्थापत्यकलाशास्त्र was looked upon with great respect and was considered to be a धर्मशास्त्र in Gujarāt. श्रीमाल is a synonym of Bhinmāla, and Bhinmāla I take to be

a part of Gujarāt. It was the first central town of the Gurjaras.

The monuments still standing in Gujarāt, like the Sun temple at Moḍherā, the remains of the magnificient Rudramahālaya at Siddhpur, the splendid gateways of Dabhoi, to mention only a few, will make any nation possessing such architectural gems raise her head in pride. The wooden architectural remains which are still to be found in Pātan would show that the *śilpins* of Gujarāt could work in wood with wonderful skill.

The remains which I have excavated near Amreli form another prolific source of information bearing on the subject. They contain beautiful stone and other images as well as terracottas of great artistic value. Some of them would show that coins were minted at Amreli. The most interesting of the minor relics are the conch bangles with various skilful designs which would speak of the flourishing bangle industry of Kāṭhiāwāḍ. शंख is found on the sea coast at Beṭ in a fairly large quantity. This industry requires encouragement and ought to revive. The coloured pottery and the *paṭolas*, the *bāndhaṇi* and the *kinkhāb* of Gujarāt cannot escape notice for our cultural history. It is unfortunate that these industries and also the lacquer-work industry are deteriorating for want of patronage. The art of writing, specially pictorial, requires a Kumārapāla to flourish. We know that hundreds of copies of the *Kalpasūtra* written in gold, were distributed as a free gift by this zealous Jaina king of Gujarāt. These *kalās* cannot thrive without financial help. To our regret what we find now is that large amounts are spent on foreign art while the indigenous *kalās* are calmly allowed to die out.

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One can go on dilating on such points but that would become tiresome. I would now notice only one other important source of this history before I close. It is the accounts of foreigners which supply valuable information about the culture of old Gujarāt. Here the travels of Huien Tsang, who is sometimes called the prince of pilgrims, deserve to be noticed first. This famous monk of China gives an interesting account of Valabhī, the modern Vala near Bhavnagar. He pronounces it as Fa-la-pi. His description is valuable for the history of not only Surāshṭra or Soraṭh but the whole of Gujarāt. He mentions Bhinmāl (Pi-lo-mo-lo) as the capital of Gujarāt, (Kin-che-lo). Both Valabhī and Bhinmāl were विद्यास्थानs and people from distant lands came there to acquire knowledge. The accounts given by the Arabs are very vivid and more to the point. All these relate to the medieval period and Gujarāt was very prosperous and flourishing in those days. The geographer Al-Idrisi is all praise for this country. He came to the court of Jayasiṁha and says:—

"The city of Nāhrvāla is governed by a great prince called Balhara. He has troops of elephants, worships Buddha, wears a gold crown and dresses in rich robes. He generally rides a horse, especially once a week, when, with a hundred women richly clothed, with gold and silver rings on their hands and feet, their hair in braids, he gives himself up to games and show-fights. The ministers and commanders only go with the king on occasion of battle. The chief strength of the king lies in the elephants. His title Balhara means the king of kings. The city is frequented by a great number of Musalmān merchants who resort to it in business. They are well received by the king and his officers and find protection and security. The Indians by nature are inclined to justice.

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Their good faith, loyalty and faithfulness are so well known that every one hears that their country is prsoperous. As a proof of their love of honesty, if a creditor is anxious to receive a debt, he has only to draw a line round his debtor who will not move till he has satisfied his creditor or the debt is paid. The people eat grain and vegetables and animals that die a natural death. They never take away animal life. They have a great respect for cattle, and bury them when they die; when they get past work, they feed them."

The accounts given in the *Tawārīkh–i–Soraṭh* and in the *Dvyāś'raya–kāvya* are also very interesting. The former speaks of a queen of Gujarāt, namely, Nāikī–Devī, who fought the foe, taking her infant son in her lap; and her leonine deeds get all–round admiration for Gujarāt. Hemachandra's description, despite its poetic embellishments, is very informative for the history of our ancient culture and of our glorious past. It contains a charming account of the great lake of Sahasraliṅga with its thousand temples of S'iva. The *Kīrtikaumudī* corroborates it. Hemachandra talks not only of the colleges built round the Sahasraliṅga lake but extols the sweet speech, the beautiful voice and the proficiency in fine arts of the women of Aṇahillapura. He also praises the family life of the citizens, their liberality, their hospitality, their bravery and adventurous spirit. He spares no words in praising the beauty of the ladies of Gujarāt. The cultural history of the medieval Gujarāt centres round Siddharāja who seems to have been the most powerful and successful ruler of Gujarāt, and during whose prosperous rule Gujarāt reached the climax of her glory. May those days come back again !

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150 A. D.:	21, 22	1585 A. D.:	37
2nd century:	23	16th century:	32, 37
200 A. D.:	25, 26	1640 A. D.:	28
4th century:	11	1706 „ :	29
405-411 A. D.:	49	1822 „ :	21
458 A. D.:	22	1842 „ :	29
5th cent. A. D.:	77	1888 „ :	74
506 A. D.:	14	1910 „ :	11
7th cent. A. D.:	77	5000 years B. C.:	17
780 to 892 A. D.:	63	2nd cent. B. C.:	17
961-99 A. D.:	36	52 of the S'aka era:	52
10th century:	83	122 „ „	25,26,42
1024 A. D.:	28, 29	136 (शक):	40
1094-1143 A. D.:	36	297 (Valabhi years):	43
1169 „ :	28	802 (Vikrama era):	32
1297 „ :	28	1083 (V. S.):	34
1325 „ :	28	1311 (V. S.):	37
1394 „ :	29	1533 (V. S.):	86
1405 „ :	37	1697 (V. S.):	28

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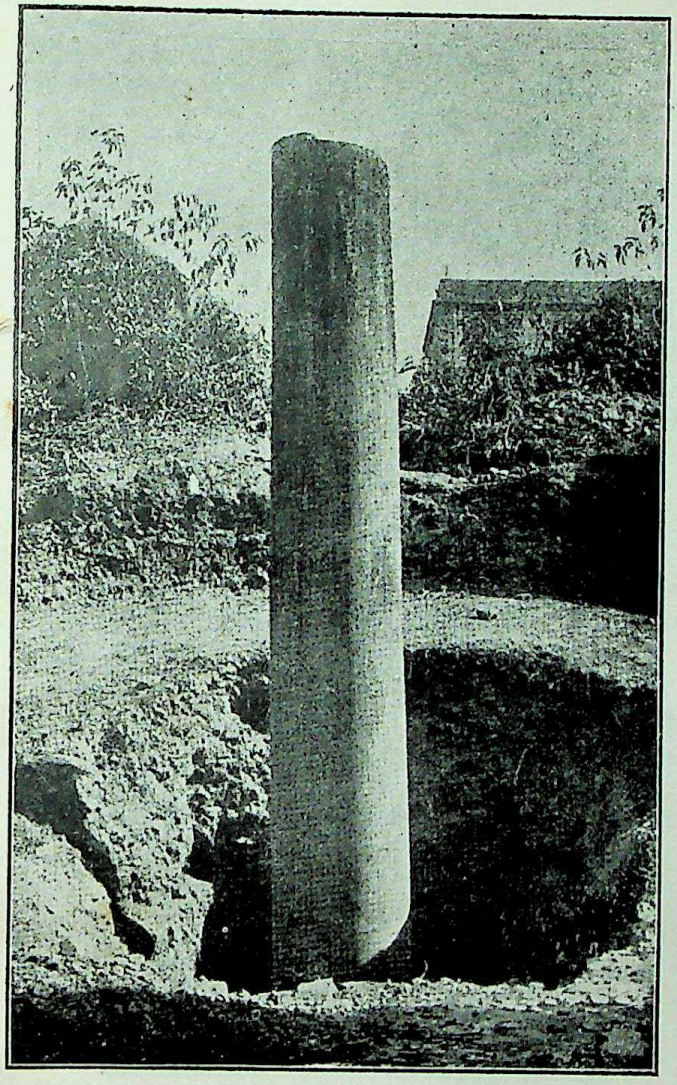

ASOKA PILLAR AT LUMBINI or RUMINDEI. (Page 8)

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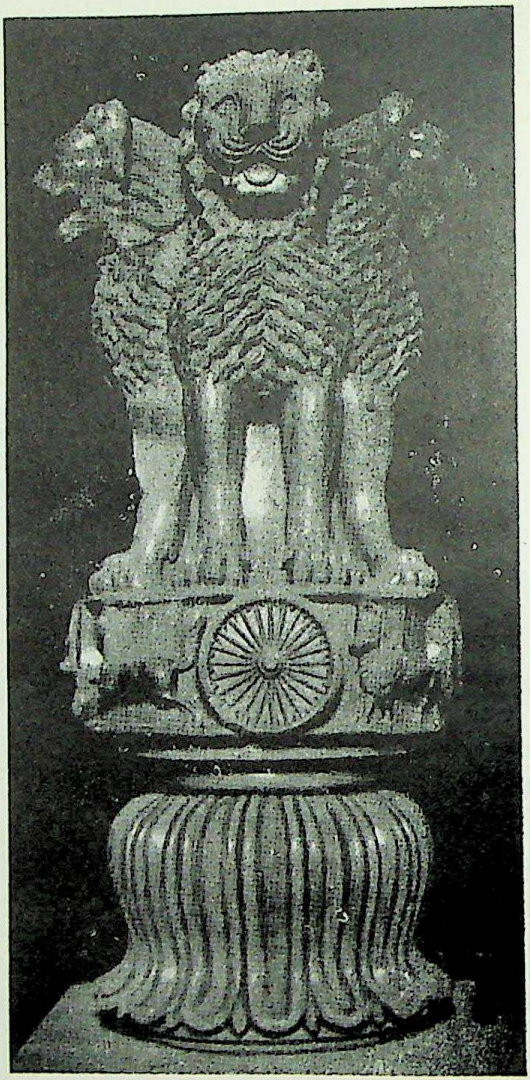

THE PILLAR AT SARNATH (Page 9)

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ASOKA IN THE GARB OF AN ASCETIC IN AN OLD TIBETAN PAINTING (Page 9)

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THE FIGURE OF AN ELEPHANT AT DHAULI (Page 9)

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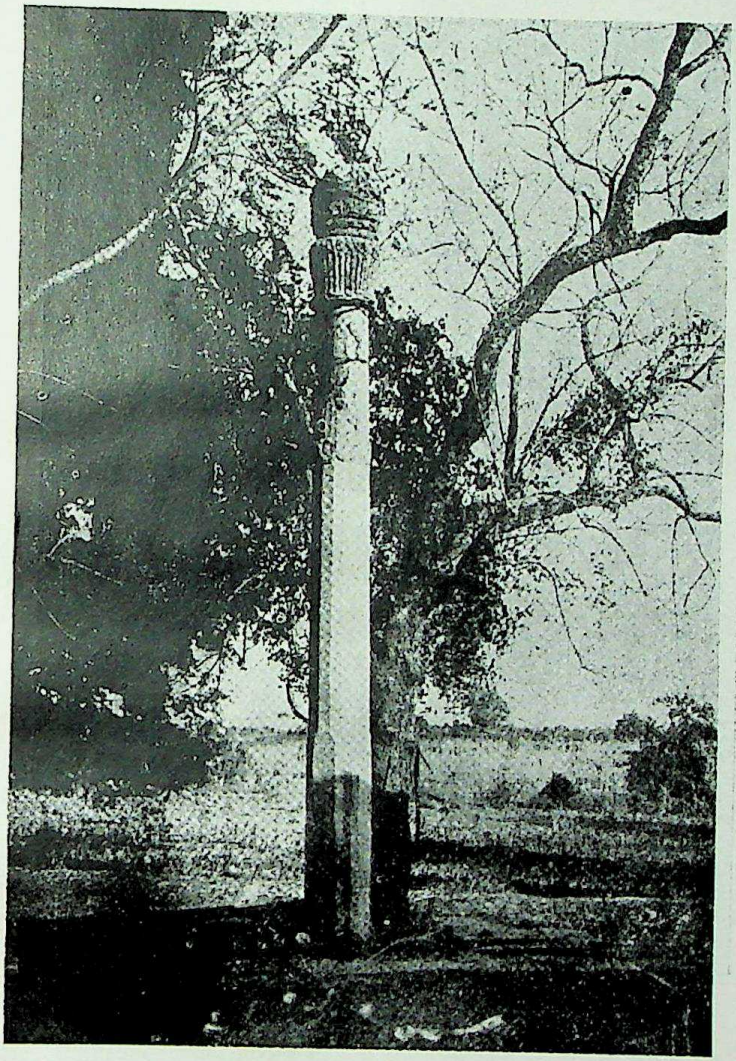

GARUDDHVAJA PILLAR AT NAGAR. (Page 10)

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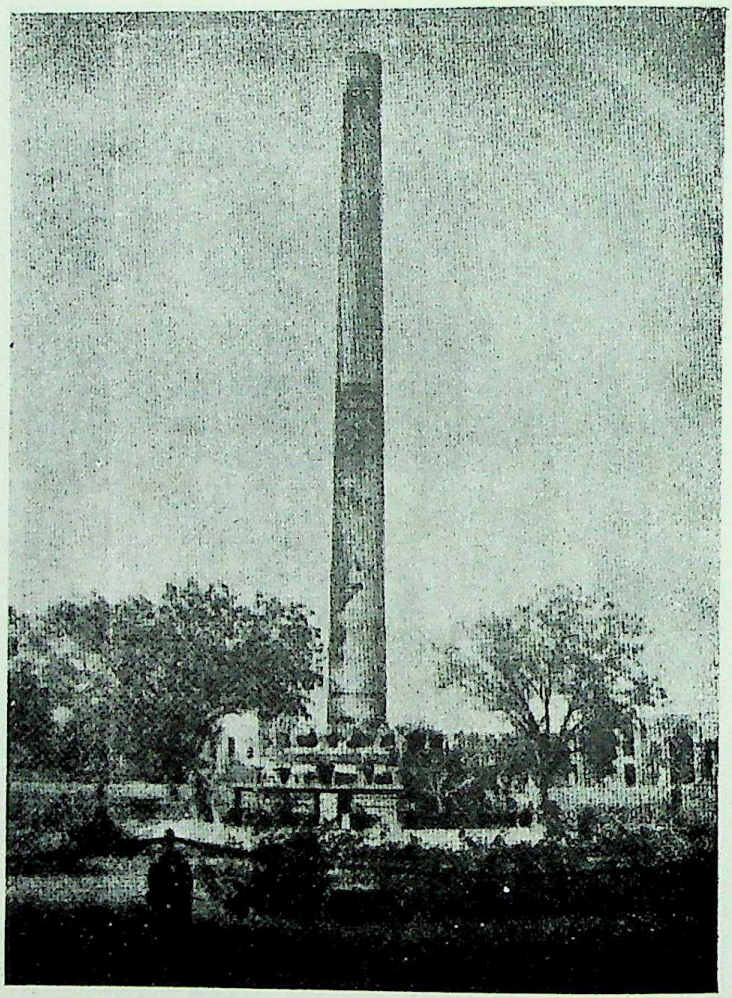

ASOKA PILLAR AT ALLAHABAD. (Page 12)

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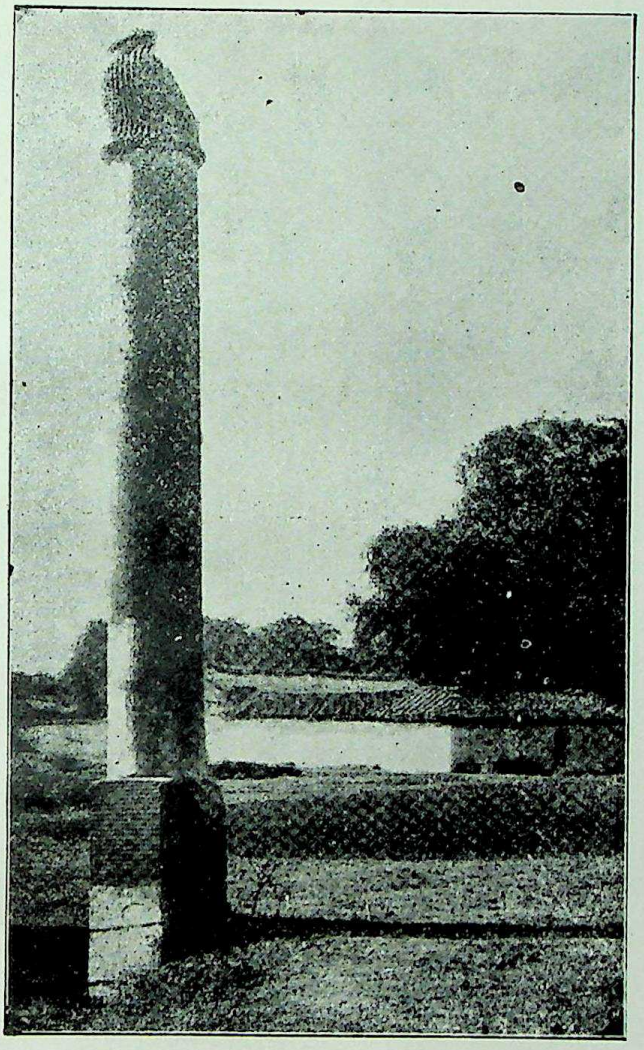

SAMUDRAGUPTA PILLAR AT BHITARI. (Page 12)

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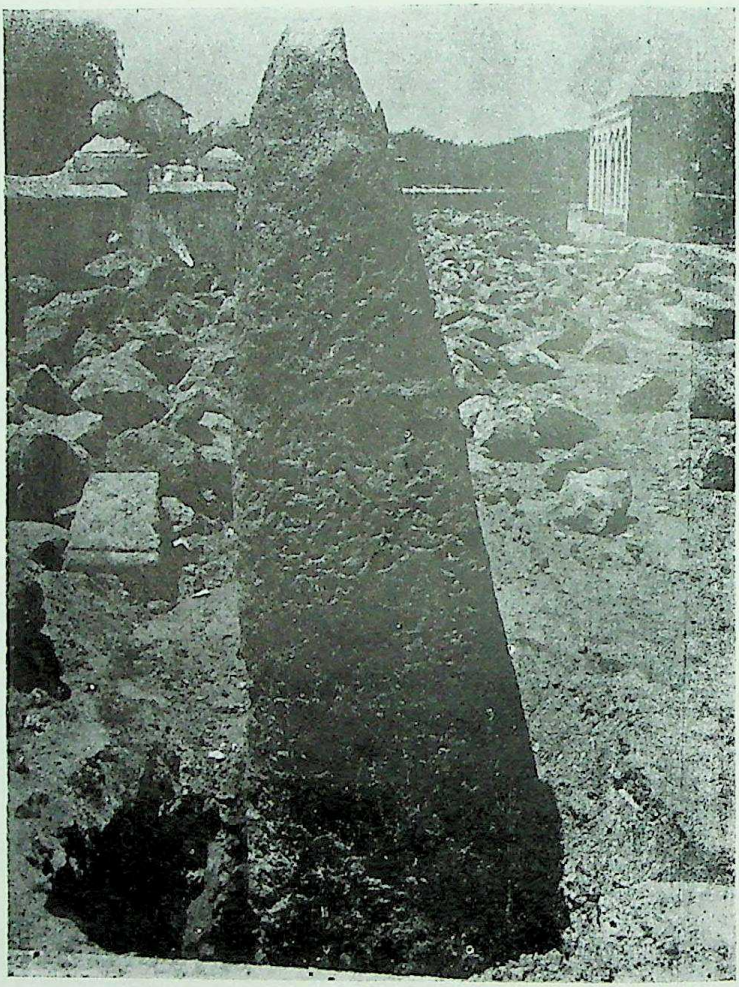

MULWASAR S'ILA–LASHTI (Page 27)

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Plate XIII

CARVED NICHES on the WALLS of SOMNATH on NORTH, SOUTH and WEST (Page 28)

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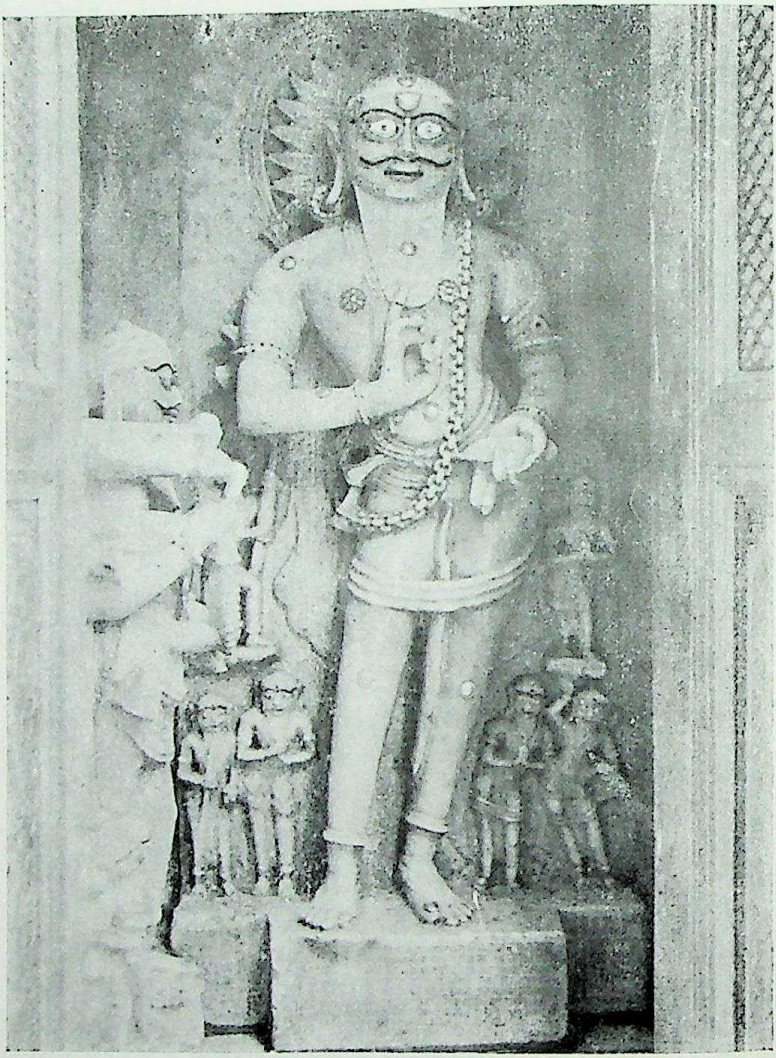

STATUE of VANARAJ CHAVDA in PANCHASAR PARSVANATH TEMPLE at PATAN (Page 30)

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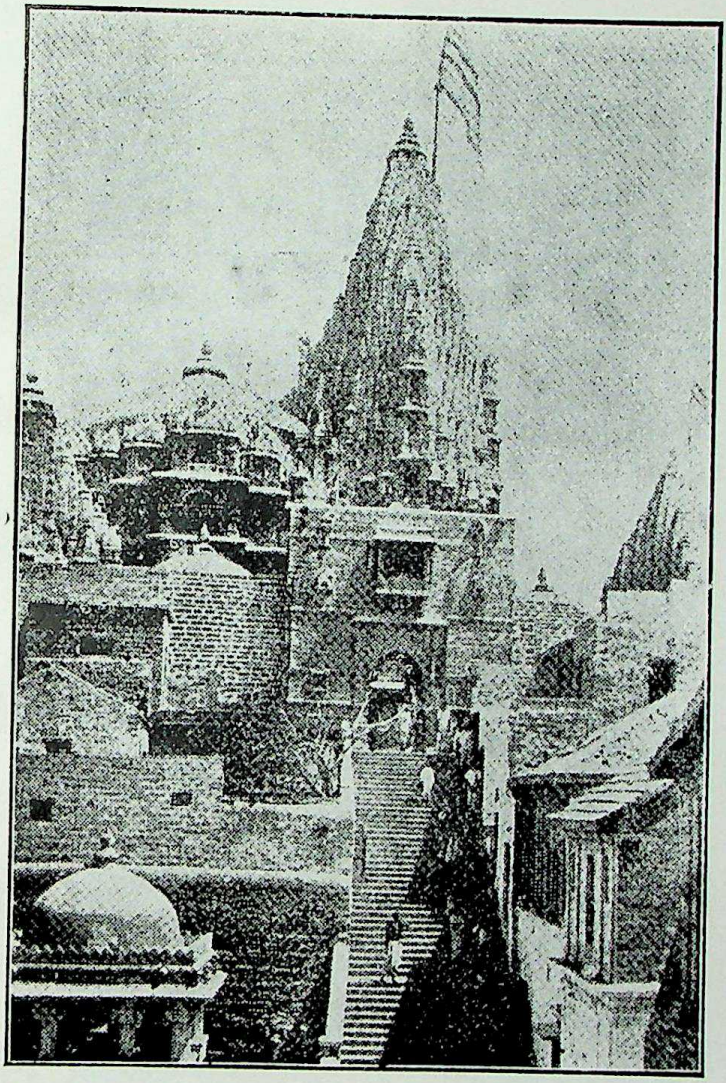
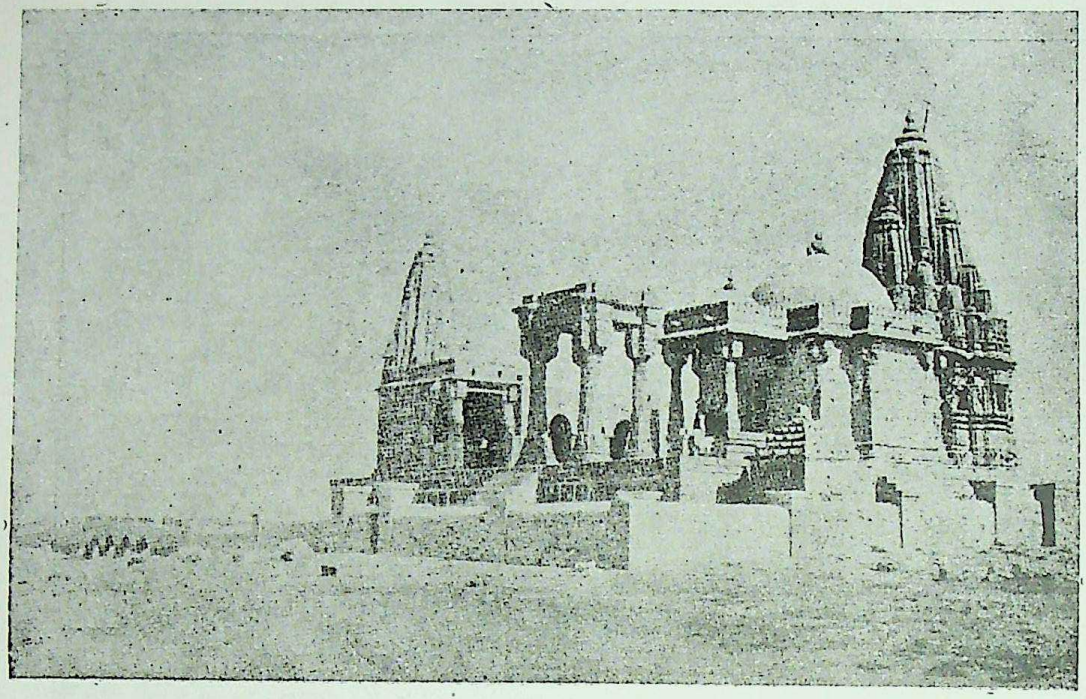


DWARKADHISA TEMPLE—DWARKA (Page 33)



TEMPLE OF RUKMINI NEAR DWARKA (Page 33)

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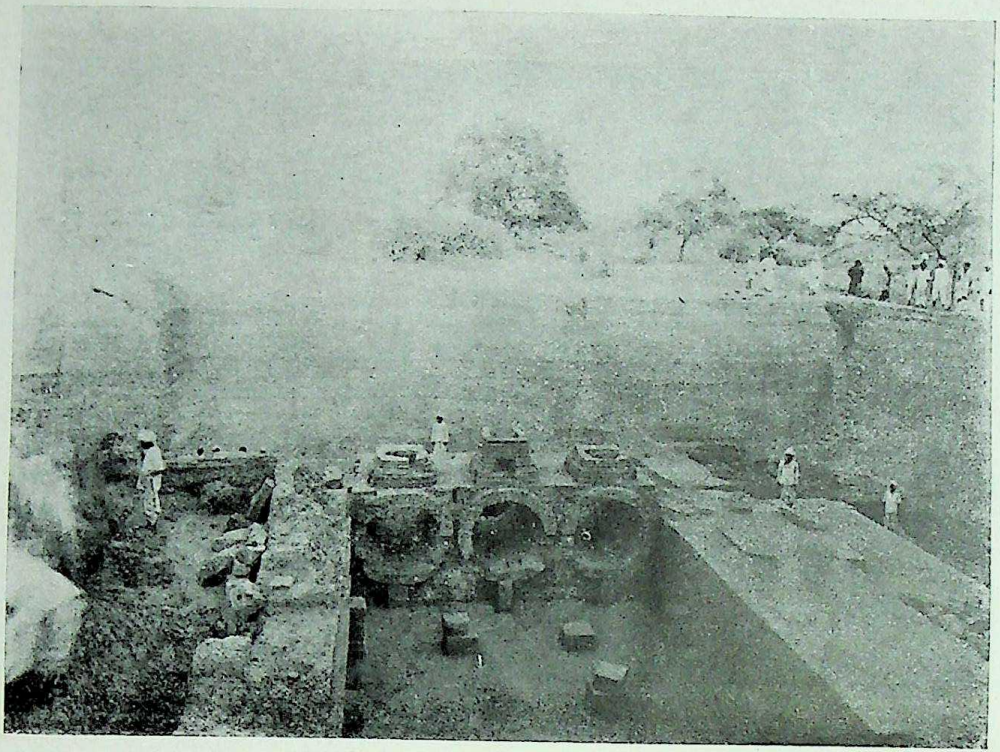
AN OLD PORTRAIT OF MIRANBAI (Page 33)



SLUCES EXCAVATED AT PATAN (Page 34)

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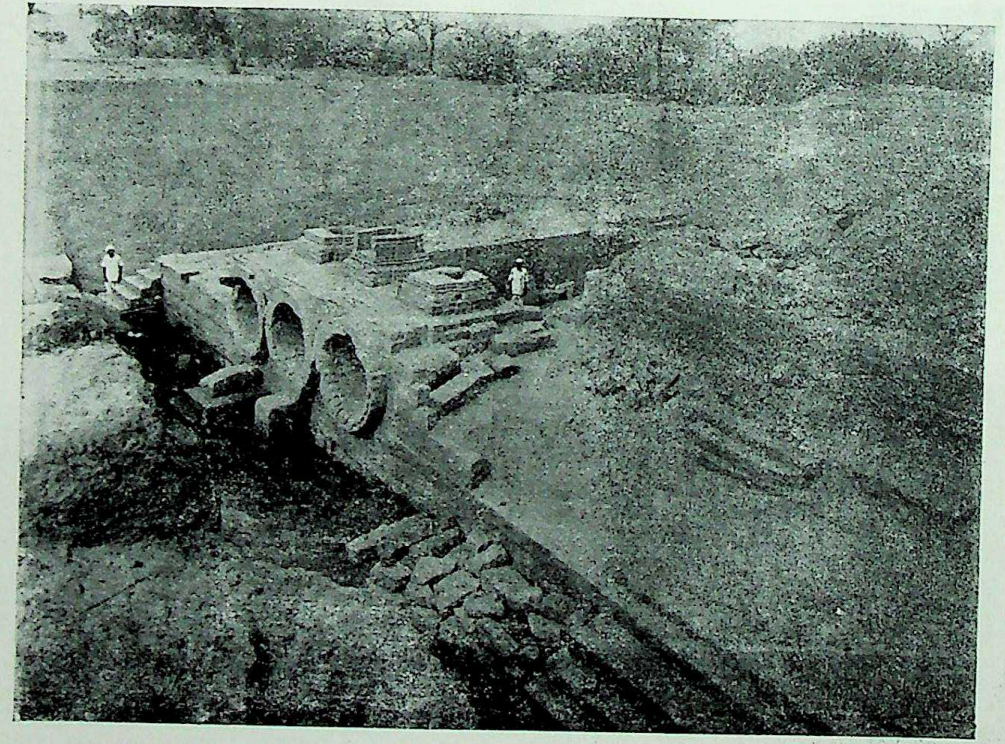

SLUCES EXCAVATED AT PATAN from North East (Page 34)

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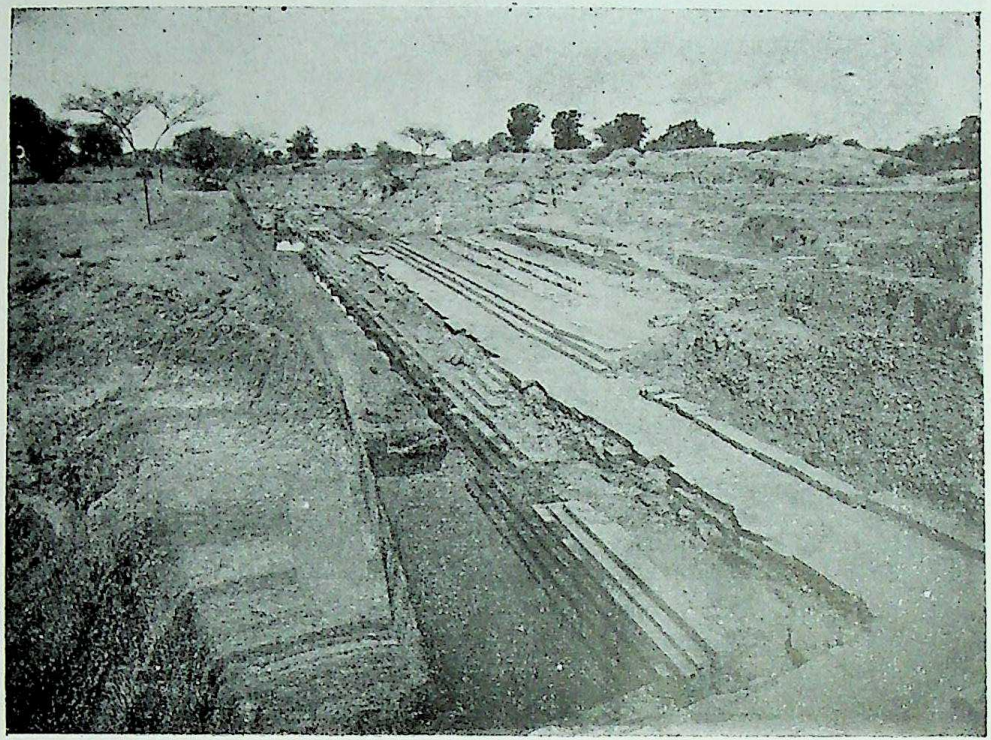

VIEW OF EXCAVATIONS AT PATAN from East (Page 34)

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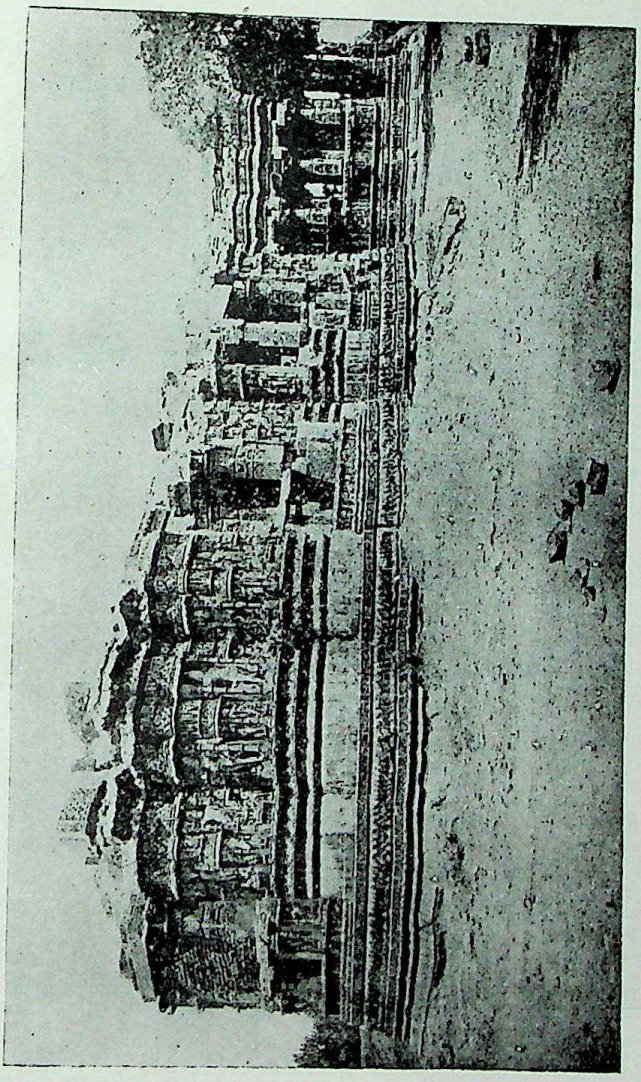
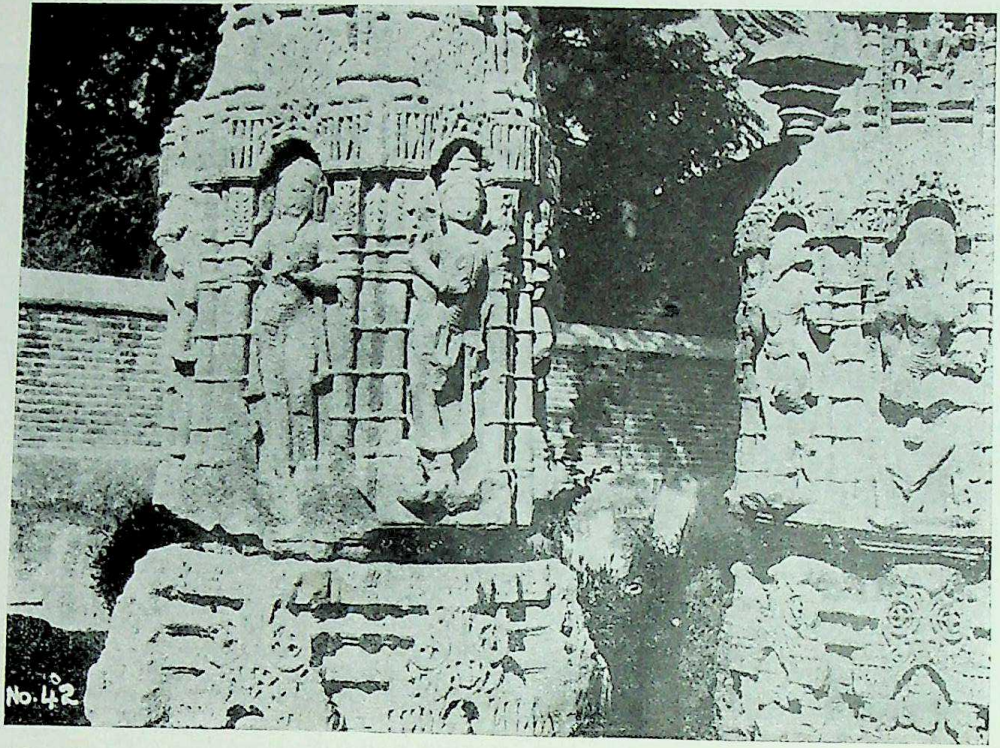
Plate XIX



THE TEMPLE OF MODHERA (Page 35)



SCULPTURES ON THE PILLARS OF RUDRAMAHALAYA AT SIDDHPUR (Page 36)

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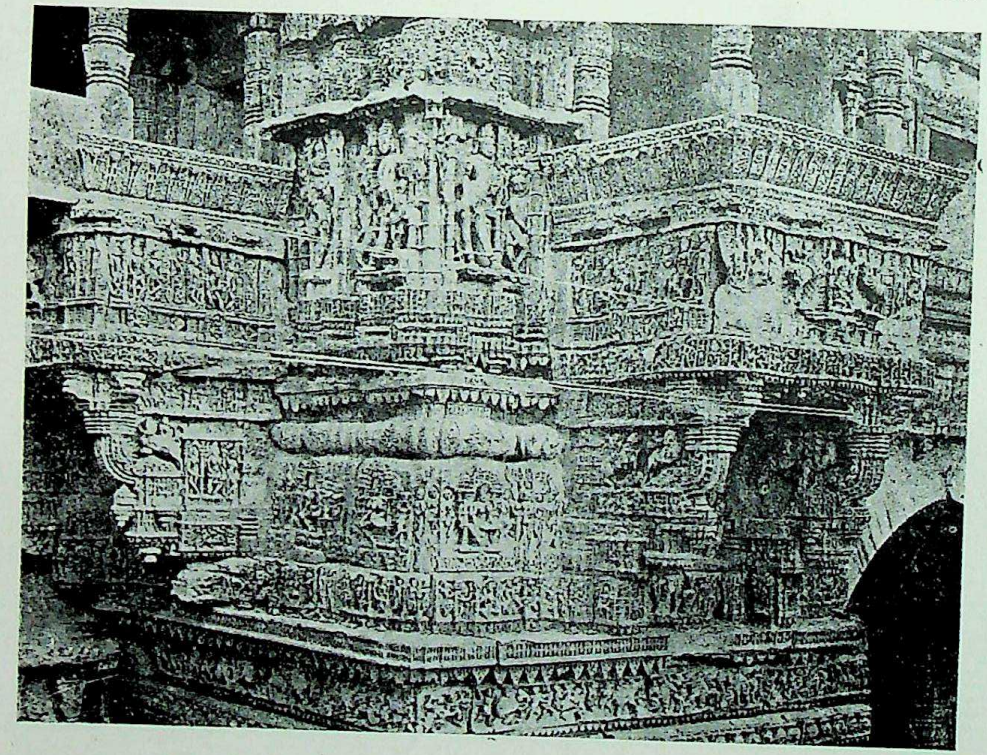

SIDE BALCONIES OF HIRA GATE at DABHOI (Page 37)

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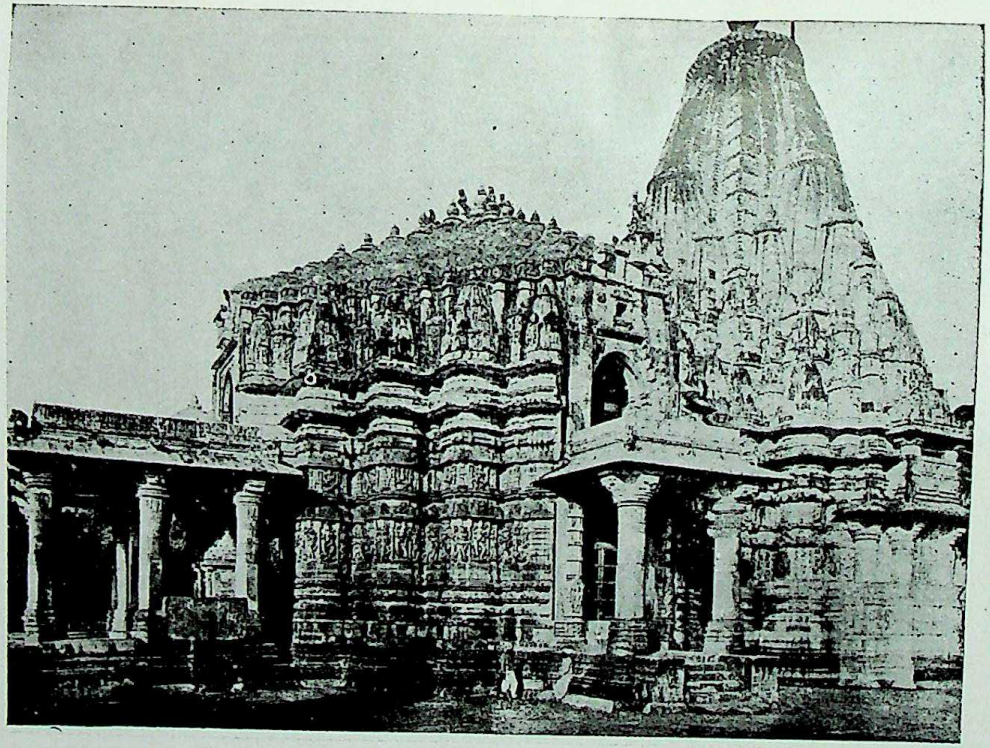
THE IMAGE OF TARA—TARANGA HILL (Page 38)



AJITNATH TEMPLE—TARANGA HILL (Page 38)

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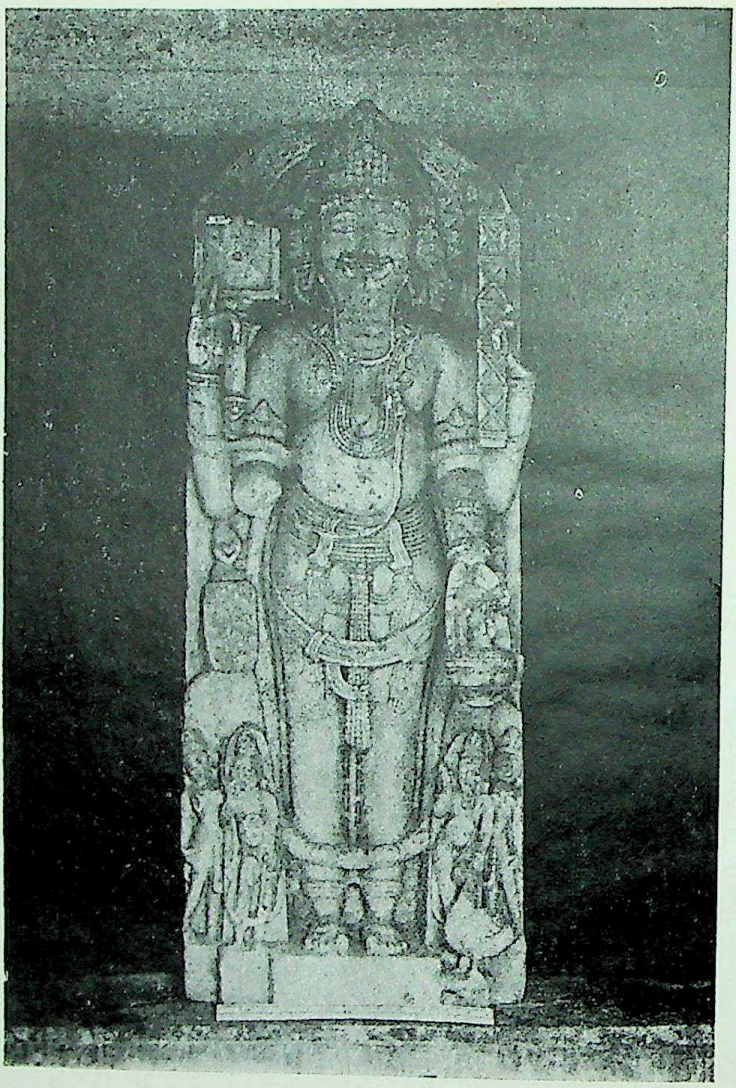
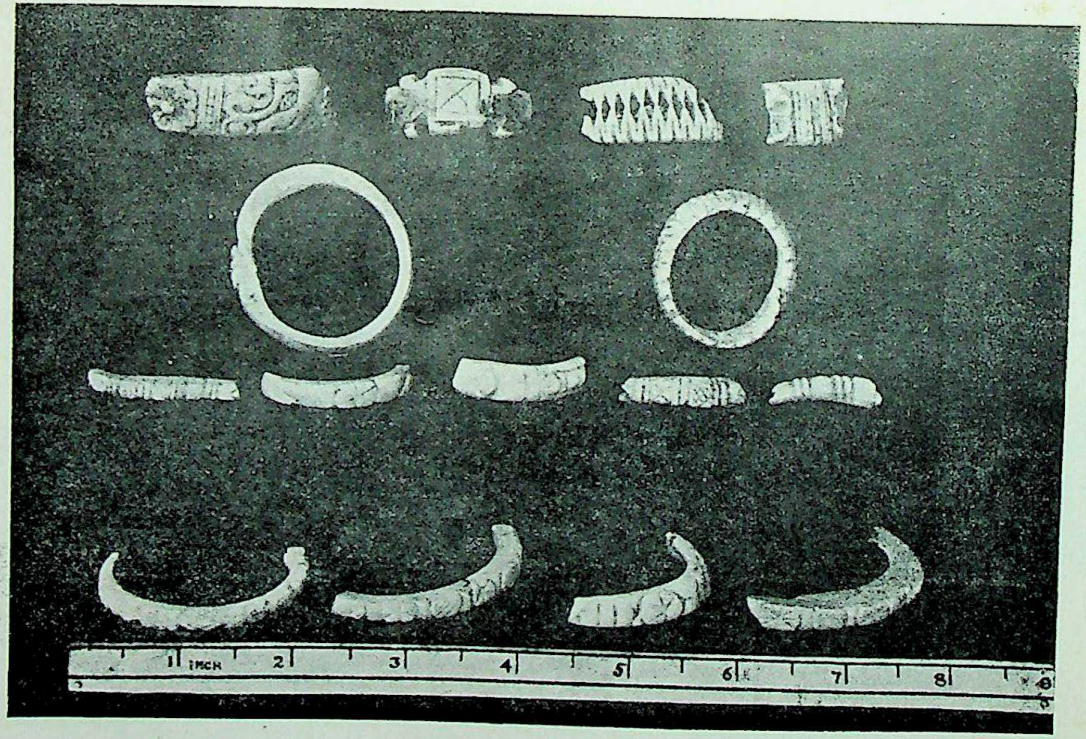


THE WHITE MARBLE IMAGE OF BRAHMA (Page 41)



BANGLE PIECES EXCAVATED AT AMRELI. (Page 43)

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Plate XXVI A

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GAJLAXMI SEAL (Page 77)

Plate XXVI B

THE SEAL OF JANAPADA (Page 78)

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